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SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE EAST A POINT OF HONOUR

BY

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PASTELS FROM THE PACIFIC, ETC.

[*In view of the suffering round about us*] 'Does not,' as a young Amherst philosopher once wrote, 'the acceptance of a happy life on such terms involve a point of honour?'—W. JAMES, *Will to Believe*.

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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to show to all who are interested in the social problems of their own country how deeply Christian missions are committed to the solution of similar problems in foreign lands. Before I began to collect the material I had no doubt that the case was a strong one, but I am bound to say that its full strength has surprised me. The foreign missionary and the social worker in Great Britain are allied, bound by a community of purpose far closer than we commonly remember. Neither will lose by a fuller recognition of the alliance.

Anyone writing a new book in this series is likely to be a little daunted by the excellence of those that went before, and in this book the wide reaches of the subject make it certain that many readers will be disappointed. The necessary limits of space have compelled me to leave out a great quantity of material which is nearly as relevant as that which finds a place, and those who are specially interested in the omitted subjects are sure to regret their omission. Another cause of perplexity has been the tangled way in which the different aspects of the problem are intertwined. To secure any sort of order it has been necessary to cut many of the links. The reader will do well to remember that the artificial classification is only adopted to permit of clear thinking, that Society is one body, each member closely related to the rest, and that life differs from a book because its different limbs cannot be separated from one another. Space, too, has made it difficult to do justice to the points of view of the several parties concerned in any single problem. It has been necessary to

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paint with a broad brush and to leave minor lights and shades to bare suggestion. Thus, while I have always sought to be just, many statements will still require qualification, and I know well that the picture is not complete.

The purpose of the "Relevant Quotations" at the end of the chapters is sometimes to give further illustrations from the countries dealt with in the text, sometimes to remind the reader that the same problems call for solution in other lands. Those who work upon the book in Mission Study Groups will find it stimulating, after a careful study of the ideas of each chapter, to apply them to spheres which the chapter has left untouched.

Where I have quoted testimony to missions, or where on the other hand I have criticized Governments, religions, etc., I have, as far as possible, used evidence from non-missionary sources. There has been no space to refer to the missions of the Roman or the Greek Church, and the references to American missions are fewer than I should have liked.

A word as to the title—"Social Problems and the East" is only a convenient label. Africa and South America, in spite of geography, count as the East, and the West includes America and Europe as well as Britain! In general I have avoided the use of the word "native," but when dealing collectively with several countries it is indispensable and should be no more offensive than "foreigner."

Finally, I have to thank numerous friends, more than I could mention. Anything that is effective in this book is largely due to their suggestion and counsel. May it serve in some small way to bring a little nearer the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

F. L.

May 1919:

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*Servants of God !—or sons
Shall I not call you ? because
Not as servants ye knew
Your Father's innermost mind,
His, who unwillingly sees
One of His little ones lost—
Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died !*

*See ! In the rocks of the world
Marches the host of mankind,
A feeble, wavering line.
Where are they tending ?—A God
Marshall'd them, gave them their goal.—
Ah, but the way is so long !
Years they have been in the wild !
Sore thirst plagues them ; the rocks,
Rising all round, overawe.
Factions divide them ; their host
Threatens to break, to dissolve.
Ah, keep, keep them combined !*

*Then, in such hour of need
Of your fainting, dispirited race,
Ye, like angels, appear,
Radiant with ardour divine.
Beacons of hope, ye appear !
Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.
Ye alight in our van ; at your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.*

*Order, courage, return.
Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
Follow your steps as ye go.
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march,
On, to the bound of the waste,
On, to the City of God.*

(MATTHEW ARNOLD, " Rugby Chapel.")

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE EAST

CHAPTER I

THE HOUR OF NEED

I

THE world has become one in a sense that is altogether new. Prior to 1914 thinking minds were already mastered by the sense that social problems were interrelated all the world over, and could not be discussed, still less handled, in isolation. The Lancashire mills were affected by the competition of Bombay, and Japan was the rival of both. Indian sailors took the place of Englishmen on P. and O. steamers, and Chinese of Germans on the Norddeutscher Lloyd. These two latter developments may have been for good or evil, but they were plainly of some social importance. The islanders of the Pacific were providing dried coco-nut to make margarine, and our dairy farmers felt a new influence in their trade. The Japanese could send to Australia a man's suit equal to the best Melbourne tailors' at less than a third of the cost.¹ This was one of the reasons for a high tariff and the "White Australia" policy. Every means of communication — telegraph, steamers, railways—was tending to make the world

¹ P. F. Rowland, *The New Nation*, p. 229.

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one in its social, and especially in its economic, problems.

But since August 1914 this progress towards oneness has gone forward with tenfold rapidity. During the war we learnt much from the letters of boys campaigning in lands of which we had scarcely heard. How often they told of the new relations into which they entered with the inhabitants! On the economic side our dependence on other lands was brought home to us at every meal. Our puddings no longer had currants from the Levant, and the bananas, which used to come so freely from the West Indies, were a dozen times their old price. The results of the blockade of Germany and the submarine campaign against England have taught us the underlying principle: we cannot live without communication. No nation now can sit self-sufficient within its own borders.

In just the same way there are moral communications. In the past four years there have been gathered in France (to say nothing of other campaigns) black troops from the North and West of Africa, black labourers from the South, Chinese by the scores of thousands, Indo-Chinese from the French colony, and great hordes of Malagasy. Maoris from New Zealand, Indians from the Punjab and the foothills of the Himalayas, have fought alongside the men of Blackburn and Birmingham. From the Islands of the Pacific—Tahiti, New Caledonia, Niué, the Cook Islands, Lifou—and from the West Indies, we have drained their young manhood. Never since the Tower of Babel have so many tongues been heard on one soil.

What sort of impression will these various peoples carry home? One hears many stories. They have seen the white man under war con-

ditions with his dignity laid aside. In some cases white women have made themselves cheap before them. (Anyone who knows the East will tell you how much is to be lost by destroying the convention of the inviolability of the white woman.) They have walked the slums of London, Paris, and Marseilles with eyes wide open and minds alert. They have learned much good too—lessons of faithfulness, duty, and compassion, a contempt for old fettering customs and caste prejudices, comradeship with men of other races, and the beauty of humble, unselfish service as they have seen it in the Y.M.C.A. and elsewhere. But these influences, whether they bring gain or loss, are so many symbols of the way in which the knowledge of good and evil is drifting across the most primitive and the most sophisticated parts of this little world.

Take one of the most up-to-date influences, the cinema. A missionary writes :—

“In every district of Hongkong large cinematograph theatres are open twice daily. In these, episodes of unreal Western life and of doubtful morality (‘thrilling, startling, enthralling!’ as the posters say), depicting passion exalted, and trickery and cunning, are thrown upon the screen brought from the West to enlighten and instruct the youth of the East! What wonder that the narrow home is deemed dull beyond endurance, and school restrictions irksome and galling! What wonder that the teacher is not believed, and is thought old-fashioned and out of date when she tells of the careful way in which girlhood is shielded in Western lands.”

There is no instrument of that new knowledge more typical and up-to-date than the cinema. Nor do such new inventions affect the great nations alone. French films are being brought over from Tahiti to the Cook Islands, while in Samoa the picture palace was closed because two boys committed “robbery with violence” under the

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inspiration of the pictures they had seen. In this and a score of other ways we are infecting the non-Christian nations. Can anyone watch the process without a sinking of the heart? Who is there to encourage the traffic in good and put an embargo on evil?

But the heart sinks once again as we ask what will be the effect on the life of the West. I have before me a circular sent to manufacturers by an Employment Agency in the North of England, which offers to supply Chinese workmen, skilled and unskilled. That, too, is a symbol. At their own desire or under the compulsion of the Labour unions, we may repatriate these varied races from the Western front, but their presence is a sign of the times,—like the footprint Robinson Crusoe found in the sand, a portent and a prediction. If they do not come to us, our sons and daughters will go to them, and in that way we shall receive back the varied infections of Africa and the East. C. T. Loram writes in reference to South Africa:—

“It is possible for a large group, weak in its standard of social life, to drag down a stronger group through its very weakness. The backwardness of the Southern States in the United States of America is partly attributable to the presence of masses of uneducated Negroes, who are dragging down the Whites to a lower level socially, politically, and economically.”¹

Since the war we are all in like case: from this time on we shall all live in the presence of the uneducated masses of lower civilizations. The solidarity of the human race is no theory, but a fact of which we now see the bearing in every sphere of life, and above all in relation to the soul of man. What of our own social morality? What of the menace to our religion? It has been said before, but the war has given it a burning

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 12.

cogency : we must either Christianize heathenism, or it will heathenize us, and heathenism is a matter of social life just as much as of religion.

II

In face of such a peril the old artificial controversy between the social worker and the friend of foreign missions is out of date. Though he may feel the constant need to insist that what is out of sight may too easily drop out of mind, the typical worker for foreign missions is no longer a man of one idea. He is not now blinded by a complacent theology to the inconsistencies of Christian nations. In these days he has to speak in the gate with men of Africa and the East who defend their traditions by lifting the veil from the darker places of our own civilization. He sees the changes wrought by the Gospel in lands afar off, and he longs that the same power should be manifest amid the heathenism of his own beloved land. Above all, he knows that the nations are members one of another, and that in its need and weakness all the world is kin.

On what used to be the other side of the fence, the approval of the real social worker is no longer difficult for the missionary to secure. I use the word "real" with intent. There are many social enthusiasts who are not workers. They are indignant in face of the wrongs of Western life, they hope to do something to remedy them, and perhaps they may even be in process of training. For them there is only one cause worth espousal, and they know exactly what ought to be done. It is such as these who sniff at foreign missions. But the fact remains that they have not put on

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their harness ; how little, then, can they know what battle means.

When, however, we are dealing with veterans, men and women who have lived among the poor, who have helped to put education within the reach of the working man, who have borne the friction and weariness of public administration, and have done these things in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, we are sure of a friendly hearing. They have been beaten too often to be cocksure, they know from the inside the limitations of their instrument, and they realize that economically and socially the world is one. They know that you cannot save Whitechapel, if you ignore Calcutta, and that any improvement in the conditions of Shanghai is, from every point of view, so much gain to Lancashire. Above all, they have learnt by grim experience that all progress depends on character—how often have their charges fallen back for want of it and their work come to disaster or decay !—and they see no way of getting that character but in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Tell them that you are taking His Gospel to foreign lands, to recruit the crusaders who will make the world new in His name, and they are with you at once. They give their strength for the Kingdom on its intensive side, but they know that for others the call is extension. It is the same Kingdom, and both rejoice together.

But these sympathetic friends would be the first to tell you that they know little of the details of missionary work. Still less do they understand how far it reaches into the social life of many peoples. How should they ? Even the missionary has little time to grasp all the implications of his own work.

That is why it is worth while to try to state the

case. Social worker and missionary alike will be more confident as they see their service in a larger setting, and through their unity they will both gain courage and perhaps more clearly recognize their way.

III

But why should we say, as we did earlier, that to produce our effect we must "Christianize heathenism?" Why not look to other faiths? Because Christianity is pre-eminently the religion which touches man as a social being. The fact that Christianity has not been tried in any completeness in the so-called Christian countries is no reason why we should ignore the results it has already produced. Wherever it has been given its fair chance, it has shown its power to redeem the life of the community. It is worth while to consider this point rather carefully.

What do we understand by "the social problem"? The phrase is hard-worked nowadays, indeed it is almost indispensable to much contemporary thought, and yet, as I attempt to analyse it, I find how loose my own thinking has been and I suspect that few of us have gone deep enough to fix its meaning. We use the phrase, I take it, when we are seeking for the way in which Society—the organization, or better the organism, of men and women as they depend on one another—may be delivered from its diseases and led forth into perfect health. We are asking that all the relations of human life may be brought to their highest and noblest development. The consideration of what Society *is*, we call sociology; but the social problem means the discussion of what

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Society *ought to be*. Matthew Arnold in "Rugby Chapel" writes :—

" See ! In the rocks of the world
Marches the host of mankind,
A feeble, wavering line.
Where are they tending ?—A God
Marshall'd them, gave them their goal."

In spite of pessimistic phrasing Matthew Arnold has got to the kernel of the matter. Mankind is marching to an ideal goal. That march is the social problem.

Now I suppose there is no religion which is not closely bound up with a social order. In Hinduism, for instance, religious theory counts for so little compared with social observances that you may believe what you will, as long as you maintain the ordinary Hindu rules and customs in regard to eating, marriage, and the like. Islam, too, provides a social system of a well-marked type. But unless a religion gives its followers a sense of an ideal goal, and makes them conscious that they are marching towards it, it may order Society never so minutely, but it has no conception of the social problem. It is not too much to say that no religion but Christianity has got this conception in any effective form.

Animism plainly cannot provide it. How can there be any sense of an ideal social order when men are, so to speak, perpetually on the jump because a spirit is peeping at them out of the dark ravine or whispering spells of chancy evil in the rustling leaves of the great tree ? The essence of Society is order, and animism tells of nothing but caprice. The animistic peoples are not armies seeking a goal, but sheep without a shepherd—not even a flock, but irregular groups scattered before the wolves of terror.

Further, it cannot be too often insisted that within the great non-Christian religions the daily faith by which men live, and specially women, is really an animism which has been carried over into and sheltered under the higher system. We are making a low estimate if we say that three-quarters of the actual worship of those who are supposed to follow the theories of the great ethnic religions of India, China, and Japan, is concerned with buying the favour or averting the ill-will of spirits who act according to no moral principle, but simply on their own incalculable whims. Take the following :—

“Whenever it was proposed to make a cut through a mountain, the first question that arose was, ‘Will it spoil the *Feng Shui* of the place?’ . . . Dragons, it appears, inhabit the under regions, and to disturb them is highly inadvisable, not to say perilous. . . . There are certain localities where, if the Taoist priests or geomancers should forbid the opening of a mine or the erecting of a derrick, a whole village or a score of villages would arise *en masse* and drive the intruding dragon-disturbers out of the country. The people of these villages are without either heat or light, except that furnished by the burning of weeds, grass, or corn-stalks, or a tallow dip, a dish of grease or oil, but that does not matter—their superstitions outweigh their comforts.”¹

Such instances, which could be paralleled a hundred times in popular Buddhism or Hinduism, will show how in the great race religions, as in savagery, animism clogs the steps of progress.²

Since Taoism, the most primitive of the three religions of China, is mainly animistic in its worship, we shall scarcely expect it to provide us with any solution of the social problem. Confucianism, the central Chinese faith, is not much better.

¹ Isaac Taylor Headland, *Home Life in China*, pp. 263-4. See also the typical story in Bitton, *The Regeneration of New China*, p. 48.

² Even in Islam there are many traces of animistic ideas.

Its law contains a fine morality to which the Chinese owe a great debt, but, as it is based on the veneration of ancestors, dead and gone, most reforming Chinese would tell you that its influence was to be dreaded. Ancestor worship is one cause of the carelessness that never restores any public work; if the steps of the "Bund" on the river front of Hankow are undermined by the current, it will occur to no one to put them into repair. Next season the damage will spread. Need we seek further for the reason than that China has been trained for so many centuries to look backward for her golden age, and not forward to the Kingdom of God? Social advance in any land might adopt as its motto Elijah's cry, "Take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers." To the Confucianist such a prayer would be flat blasphemy. Who would dare to dream of improving on the past?

Buddhism is the third ingredient of Chinese worship. Can that save Chinese social life? The question vitally affects Japan, Ceylon, Burma, and Tibet, as well as China. Of all the non-Christian beliefs, Buddhism is the most beautiful. It is difficult for us of the West to understand it completely, and we should not exaggerate its peculiarities, but it seems clear, for the most part, that its ideal of salvation is self-regarding, and that its general trend is pessimistic. By grim and grinding struggle towards morality a man should seek his own redemption; redemption consists in deliverance from desire, and therefore, from a life that must be full of pain. Above all, strict Buddhism has no God to be the centre of aspiration. Here is a goal indeed, but it is the negation of anything that can be called Society. Buddhism has not the essentials of a social faith.

The same desire for deliverance from life because of its pain is characteristic of the higher Hinduism, that is, of all Hinduism which is not animism in disguise. A friend of mine, a woman missionary in Benares, told me a story which leads straight to the heart of Hindu philosophy. A father said to her, "No, I don't want my daughter to learn to write. She will marry and leave us for her mother-in-law's house, and then, if she can write, she will send letters and tell me how unhappy she is, *and I couldn't bear it.*" It is exactly so. In the strictest and most typical Hindu thinking joy is forgotten, and beauty; love is left out of account. All the emphasis is laid on the light affliction with which we pay for their possession. "Escape desire; escape from life activity; go out into the jungle alone; sleep on no bed; cross no tilled land—that would bring back contact with the material, miserable world again; meditate in solitude till you are lost in God; so will you find release from the suffering of man's existence."

Such principles go far to explain the fact that India is governed by others. On the practical side they insure that at an age when in Christian lands, upon City Council or Trade Union or Housing Committee, their social influence would be at its zenith, Indian men of spiritual aspiration retire from the seeking, struggling, unguided multitude. That is to say, the government of town or village is left in the hands of those who, on the Hindu hypothesis, have made the great refusal to the spiritual call. On the theoretic side the result is the same. The man of ideals can have only one aspiration, to escape from life's contacts, its desires, and its pain. The attempt to serve Society is so much effort misapplied.

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Again, the higher Hinduism teaches of a God whom it is impossible to know. It insists that any positive attribute grasped by poor human thought must inevitably mislead. Men may only say, "He is *not* this," and "He is *not* that." To have a God no one knows is to have no God at all, and the result in daily life is the encouragement of idolatry, with all its degradations, because it offers just that touch with concrete fact, with something that can be seen and worshipped, for which human nature craves. Further, if God cannot be known, you have no standard by which to decide that one form of worship is higher and another is lower. To use a favourite Indian illustration, they may all be ways by which you come to the one goal. But if you do not know the centre, how can you be sure that the roads are leading to it? The higher Hinduism can give neither chart nor compass. As a consequence, India has little of that protestantism, that revolt against untruth, which is necessary to cleanse worship and purify observance and morality. Then, too, she lies under the fatal incubus of caste, with which we shall deal later, the very antithesis of social progress. No, it is not to Hinduism that we shall look, beautiful as some of its elements may seem.

There remains Islam, the youngest and most polemic of the non-Christian religions. The condition of Moslem countries would suggest that Islam is scarcely the religion for the social reformer. On examination it is easy to see the reasons. In the first place, to orthodox Moslem thought God is always the master, the oriental tyrant, seeking obedience, and giving blessing in return for obedience, but neither seeking nor offering love. Thus the glory of a God so con-

ceived is everything, irrespective of what happens to group or individual.

The second weakness is in the metallic theory of the verbal inspiration of the Koran. The true Moslem will not even tolerate a translation, so important is it to keep every tittle of its Arabic wording. When Boutros Pasha, the Coptic Christian Premier of Egypt, was shot by el-Wardani, a Moslem fanatic, the British Government consulted the Sheikh-al-Islam, the greatest ecclesiastical lawyer, as to the legitimacy of the death sentence. After careful thought he replied that he could not give his approval. First, any demand for the blood of the murderer must come from the relatives of the victim. In this case it was presented by the Government. The second reason against approving the verdict was that killing with a bullet was not mentioned in the Koran. Third, Moslem law only pronounces in such a matter when the murdered man is a Moslem, that is to say, the murder of an infidel was a venial offence. Thus everything turned on the legal system worked out by Mohammed for the Arabs of the seventh century. Into that system, hard as a cast-iron die, the social life of modern Moslem lands must be pressed, whatever be the consequences. If we take the attitude thus revealed, together with polygamy, the most reactionary of sex relations, we can understand why the peoples do not progress under Moslem tutelage.

It is, then, especially in their influence on daily life—that is to say, in their social impact—that the non-Christian religions are most obviously defective. Any failure to find the Way, the Truth and the Life is heavily penalized in the common relations of every day. The more men really know of the non-Christian religions of the world, the more they

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are sure of their inadequacy. I do not refer to the controversialists of the old missionary school, but to men like D. B. Macdonald, J. N. Farquhar, and the late James Hope Moulton, who view the faiths they study with a certain affectionate sympathy. Yet these, and such as these, are the scholars who set out the failure of the non-Christian systems with a definiteness which is convincing and indeed final.

IV

But, if the other faiths of the world cannot face the social problem, it is within the truth to say that Christianity cannot help facing it. The Teacher who told the story of the good Samaritan, and bade His disciples give a cup of cold water in His name, who washed the disciples' feet, and summed up religion as love to God and love to man, would never let His followers get far away from the service of the common life around them. He healed the sick and cast out devils. He preached the Gospel to the needy, and, better still, He lived it in their presence. Indeed, when St Paul writes, "For our sakes he became poor," he is only stating the literal truth. And though many who bear His name have compromised, accepting happy lives with no thought of the corresponding call to remove the misery around them, His closer followers have always felt the point of honour. It is broadly true to say that, with all its failures, organized Christianity has always been more essentially interested in the body, mind, and soul of man (taking the three together) than the most enlightened society outside the Christian influence. Therein Christians are simply

following Him whose name they bear. There is no sympathy in human history so broad or so refined as that of the Carpenter of Nazareth. The preached Gospel has always as its by-product the creation of a new social order.

I am not ignoring the crass unfaithfulness of the Church to her Master's example. No one can paint the selfishness of nominal Christians in colours as dark as it deserves. Often the Church has tacitly allied itself with the rich against the poor, while certain Churches at certain times have ranged themselves openly with the forces of general reaction. Yet again and again, as the Church has sunk back, it has been renewed by some of those who loved their Lord. Jesus stands always at the centre recalling men to His standard. His story in the Gospels cuts clean across every social abuse. The lapses of Christians have never been so far-reaching as the revivals, and the life of Christian nations has risen steadily with the life of the Church. Christianity, in proportion as it is living, must be interested in all that concerns humanity.

But the statement that Christianity is concerned with the body, mind and soul, three in one, would lose half its meaning if we did not add that Christianity is also committed to progress. The summary criticism of the great religions already given is enough to show that they all fail here. Yet surely the gift of progress is something we must require of any God we can worship. Faith must produce advance. You cannot prove with formal logic that progress is essential to true religion, but once it has grasped what progress means, the human spirit can never cease to use the idea as a touch-stone. Once the mind really knows the meaning of "Grow old along with me ! the best is yet to

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be,"¹ or, "The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God,"² an instinct tells us that these things are true. Nor are they true by withdrawal from the surroundings in which we are set, but by a transfiguration in which these surroundings must also share.

Now in Jesus we have revealed to us what I may without irreverence call a human God. The fact that the Christian sees God in the face of Jesus Christ, is a perpetual call to grow into His likeness, a constant attraction upwards, a proof that even for us the high is not too high—"Brethren, I count not myself yet to have apprehended: but one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus";³ these are essentially Christian ideas, and they follow from the revelation Jesus gives. Because God is best understood when manifested in human form, so His worshippers feel that they are only men as they become divine. A human God means a God-like humanity.

Though we criticize Hinduism or Islam because they do not progress, we never think of suggesting that therein they are untrue to type. But a Christian Church which stands still is felt by all to be a denial of Christianity. Till recent times the Syrian Church in South India was stagnant and unmoved by any impulse to evangelism. This was characteristic enough of India, but it was plainly unworthy of the Christian name. The torpor of certain parts of the Eastern Orthodox Church or the selfish content of eighteenth century

¹ Browning, "Rabbi Ben Ezra."

² Rom. viii. 19, R.V.

³ Phil. iii. 13, 14, R.V.

Protestantism, is felt to be a betrayal, not so much of the social order, as of Christianity itself. Of the Christian we may say that by the very essence of his faith "he's for the morning."

Was it an accident that the finest social work in the War was done by Christian bodies? The broad imaginative service of the Y.M.C.A., the Church Army, or similar Christian societies, to which the men of our own and other races owed so much, was like a spring of moral and spiritual strength welling out in the midst of a thirsty land. We are told that the Church has lost its influence, and that four-fifths of our people will no longer tolerate the Church, because they have found enlightenment, the religion of all good men! But it is significant that, though many individuals volunteered for service without making any Christian profession, this enlightened four-fifths of the community did little, as an organized body, to help our men in their loneliness, and to keep them from depression and temptation. It was not the Ethical or the Theosophical Society that came forward at such a time with far-seeing courage and personal sacrifice for the sake of our boys. It was not even the Labour Party or any other of the more enlightened political groups. It was not the Royal Society, nor the Academies of Fine Art or of Literature. It was the Christian minority to which we owed this mobilization of power for unselfish service. I venture to believe that this is only one illustration of the truth that social service is emphatically a Christian idea. However much the worker may think he has risen above it, the hidden foundations of his devotion will commonly be found to lie in the teaching of Jesus Christ.

V

To the general rule that Christianity cannot leave the social question alone, missions are no exception. The great pioneer missionaries seem to have been blessedly unable to grasp the distinction between caring for the body and caring for the soul. General Codrington (1710) bequeathed his estates in Barbadoes to found a missionary college, where not only divinity but "phisick and chirurgery" should be studied and practised. Samuel Marsden, the Government Chaplain of Port Jackson (Sydney) and the great organizer of evangelism in the Pacific a century ago, took cattle and sheep to New Zealand as naturally as he took Bibles. John Williams introduced the Chatsworth banana to improve the yield of the native gardens. Mackay protested that his hands were "black with working in iron every day for the Uganda chiefs." H. M. Stanley's description of Mackay's station is very much to the point :—

"There was a big, solid workshop in the yard, fitted with machinery and tools, a launch's boiler was being prepared by the blacksmiths, a big canoe was outside repairing; there were saw-pits and large logs of hard timber; there were great stacks of palisade poles . . . and quiet labourers came up to bid us 'good morning.'"¹

We are a long way here from the missionary standing under the palm-tree in a top hat with an open Bible in his hand!

It is not only in the wilds that such concrete service is done. Half a century ago Dr Nevius, the American Presbyterian, imported new fruits into North China, and raised the quality of the

¹ *Mackay of Uganda*, p. 405.

country stocks by grafting.¹ The Chinese Government did nothing of the sort: and few but men with a missionary spirit would have attempted it. "Arbour Day," a day for tree-planting in all districts, and certain schemes for afforestation owe much, if not everything, to the initiative of missionaries. For years the Christian Literature Society for China has been putting at the disposal of the Chinese some of the best books of the West, laying special stress on science and sociology. The Commercial Press in Shanghai, which is doing a parallel work on Chinese lines, is almost as definitely inspired by Christian influences.

Modern missionaries are driven forward by the same impulse as Nevius. In Tsinanfu the Missionary Institute, under J. S. Whitewright, contains a splendid museum which, together with the lectures given there, has done much for the spread of new ideas in the Province of Shantung. Missionaries devoting themselves to famine or flood relief in China have taken Chinese students and given them their part in the work. It was the obvious thing to do. The Anglo-Chinese College in Tientsin has been fortunate in the strong public spirit of its staff, and in consequence the students have been willing to spend parts of their vacations in meeting those calamities which are only too apt to recur, as long as China will not remove their causes. Is it not, indeed, just such experiences that will train the leaders to see the need for going down to causes? Similar work is being done by Mission Colleges all over China.² In Lahore D. J. Fleming gave distinction to the Forman Christian College by leading the students, Hindu, Moslem,

¹ Based on Dr Nevius' work, the Japanese Government is now developing fruit gardens on a large scale all round Dalny.

² See Willard Price, *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*.

and Christian, in social service. Anyone who will get his book *The Social Missions of the Church in India*, or read his article in the *International Review of Missions*,¹ will have little difficulty in believing that there can be few better means of raising up the type of man that India needs to meet her new responsibility. Tyndale-Biscoe, dealing with a less virile material in Kashmir, and beginning at an earlier stage, lays great stress on personal pluck and endurance as well as on the duty of seizing every chance to resist oppression, and to remove the evils born of neglect. In Kandy a Government scheme of housing was actually based upon investigation into social conditions carried out by the boys of Trinity College. It is not often that a school can show Government the way.² Trinity College, also, pays considerable attention to agriculture.

In France I have had the opportunity of watching the work of Indians (Christians, with a few exceptions) in the Y.M.C.A. huts for the Indian troops. They have done splendid service and the lead has been inevitably in the hands of the Christians. Though some Europeans are working with them, Indians guide and control all the operations. It is safe to say that, when such men return to India, they will set forces moving which will transform the conditions of the poor and ignorant. Many of the non-Christian Indian officers have been greatly impressed by the unselfishness and sympathy which they have seen and they will do much to support any such association in India.

But these are special and peculiar activities. Missionaries are best judged on their average results. As they try to build up the Church, they

¹ January 1914.

² See also Holland, *The Goal of India*, pp. 144, 203.

are forced into the amendment of daily life. To begin with, many social sins, for instance drunkenness or opium smoking, plainly unfit a man for fellowship with God. Not only so, for the most part they are sins against human love, and because the man who "loves not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen," the missionary is compelled to teach him to conjugate the verb "to love" in new and practical forms. The social order must be recast to accompany the Gospel. Every mission station is thus to some degree the centre of social reform, and in the following chapters we shall see not only how much is already being done, but how much might be effected if we realized the definite commission to deliver those that "sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being fast bound in misery and iron."¹

Again, the young Churches of the mission field are often more alive to social need than their guides and helpers from abroad. They know where the shoe pinches. In not a few cases the impulse towards Christianity began with a sense of the difference between the social condition of the Christian and non-Christian communities. The mass movements in India are almost all based on a noble desire for more life and fuller, which is bound to issue in reform. Conversion involves a release of activity which must find outlet in the ordinary surroundings of the converts.

Mr E. A. H. Blunt, the Census Officer for the United Provinces, writes :—

"The missionaries all these years have been providing the *corpus sanum* (if one thing is noticeable about Indian Christians it is their greater cleanliness in dress and habits), and now they are being rewarded by the appearance of the *mens sana*. The

¹ Psalm cvii. 10 (Prayer-book version).

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new convert, may be, is no better than his predecessors; but a new generation, the children of the first generation of converts, is now growing up. . . . The Hindu fellows of these converts have now to acknowledge, not only that they are in many material ways better off than themselves, but that they are also better men.”¹

It is this social service that draws the approval of so many administrators and travellers. They have seen, as Sir Bampfylde Fuller said of Assam, that “the humanizing effect of Christianity is evident on all sides.” Jesus Christ is the Lord—not so much of nineteen centuries passed away, as of the new world that is to be. I challenge any man who loves Jesus Christ to get to know the facts about missions and the need they try to meet. Let him weigh their mistakes and failure as well as their good intentions and their success, and if on the balance his judgment is unfavourable let him attack with all his power in the name of truth. But if the challenge be honestly accepted, I am not afraid of the result.

Before the war many looked to civilization and education to redeem Society. Even then there was much reason for discouragement in the poverty of their results for good and in the many evils that followed upon their heels. But since the war civilization is a word with blood upon it, and education has made T.N.T. and poison gas. Let us not forget that “civilization” is the equivalent of “Kultur.” Education and civilization, at least in common speech, are neutral words from the point of view of ethics. Everything turns on the spiritual principle which dominates their attitude and evolution. A steamer is a wonderful means of progress, always provided that it is going to the port you want to reach. The high

¹ *Indian Census Report*, 1911, p. 137.

state of development which Europe had attained not only failed to prevent the inconceivable absurdity of war, but even facilitated the use of every device of modern science to intensify its stupid mechanical horrors. We know in our hearts that civilization without a spiritual principle is bound to fail.

The war, however, is just what makes some doubt the most. "Christianity has no more availed to stop the war than civilization. How futile appear the Churches of the Prince of peace! Labour and similar movements, though making no Christian profession, will leave the Church behind and lead the advance along the path of right." In the autumn of 1914 many wrote in this strain, but the following years have given time to test their judgment. Even in the form of International Socialism, Labour has proved that it is easier to draft a programme in Committee than to get the rank and file to accept it. Our mentors now speak in the humbler tones of men who have found that it is easy to lose the way.

Of course, the failure of others does not condone the failure of the Church. Minority as she may be, if the Church had been faithful to her Master's teaching, the majority outside her borders could never have made the war. The Church must face the world's judgment. But the very fact that she is judged by the standards of Jesus shows the place which is given to Him by the conscience of the great world. The temper of the Churches is not Christianity—indeed, that is the indictment against them—and any thoughtful man can make the distinction. Christianity stands above the war as the one remedy for the diseases of human society, the one foundation for that new world we are committed to create.

Further, the foreign missionary enterprise is the one conspicuous internationalism. To the very ends of the earth it sends men out. To black and yellow, to clever and stupid, to attractive and repulsive, the missionary goes in the name of Jesus Christ. His support is found by men at home who have an interest in peoples they have never seen, and who wish to share with them the good that Christianity brings. For a parallel we should scarcely look to secular history, but we may well ask whether in the whole history of the Church there is any movement so remarkable. Is there any such corporate unselfishness or such an instance of imagination dedicated to the service of mankind ?

The famous Edinburgh Conference of missionary bodies from all over the world (1910) was only one stage in the process of attraction by which missionary workers of different lands were being drawn closer and closer together. Americans, Germans, and Danes were our friends in Christian fellowship, a fellowship made richer because Indians and Chinese had their place there too. It was here, indeed, that some of us found the most grievous tragedy of the war. We know how it has weighed on those in Germany of like mind, and it is not difficult to predict that the fellowship between missionary leaders will be more quickly re-established than between workers for any other cause. What other object can show an understanding so completely transcending nationality and so many races gathered under its shadow ? During the war we have seen tottering the things that could be shaken. Foreign missions are among the few that the war has failed to shake.

What do they mean to us ? *Do they not involve for us too a "point of honour" ?*

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- Willard Price. *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*. Missionary Education Movement, New York. (Obtainable from U.C.M.E. 3s.)
- D. B. Macdonald. *Aspects of Islam*. Macmillan. 6s. 6d. net.
- J. N. Farquhar. *The Crown of Hinduism*. Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. net.
- K. J. Saunders. *Buddhist Ideals*. C.L.S.I. 2s. net.
- J. H. Oldham. *The World and the Gospel*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.
- W.*Paton. *Jesus Christ and the World's Religions*. U.C.M.E. 1s. net.
- J. Warneck. *The Living Forces of the Gospel*. Oliphant. 5s. net.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"My experience is that everywhere in Asia Minor, Persia, India, Japan, China, and Korea, the good of the ancient religious systems seems to have dropped out of them in their progress down the ages. The high moral teaching has been lost out of Buddhism to a very great extent. Buddhism has decayed in its teaching and morality, and has absorbed the idol-worship and the demon-worship of the countries it has nominally subjugated. In India Hinduism has descended to depths of which one cannot speak, and elsewhere the good has been lost. One is obliged to come to the conclusion that there is no resurrective power in any of these great Asiatic systems."—MRS ISABELLA BIRD BISHOP, quoted by EUGENE STOCK, *A Short Handbook of Missions*, p. 47.

"The big tree of Buddhism is rotten at its heart."—Prof. ANESAKI, of Imperial University, Tokyo, in *New East*, quoted *Christian Movement in Japanese Empire*, 1917, p. 13.

"That the [religio-social] organism has become diseased to the very core, is a fact admitted by all Hindus, irrespective of their special creed or caste."—GOVINDA DAS, *Hinduism and India* (Theosophical Society, Benares), 1908, p. vi.

"He [the negro] had a vague idea of a being above all the spirits he propitiated, but of his nature he knew nothing. . . . ; his attention was directed to these unseen influences which he considered as likely to affect his life and material well-being. So far from his beliefs leading to a well-ordered moral life, his fears outweighed his hopes, and the result was witchcraft with all its suspicions, fears, smelling-out and murders."—MAURICE EVANS, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, p. 41.

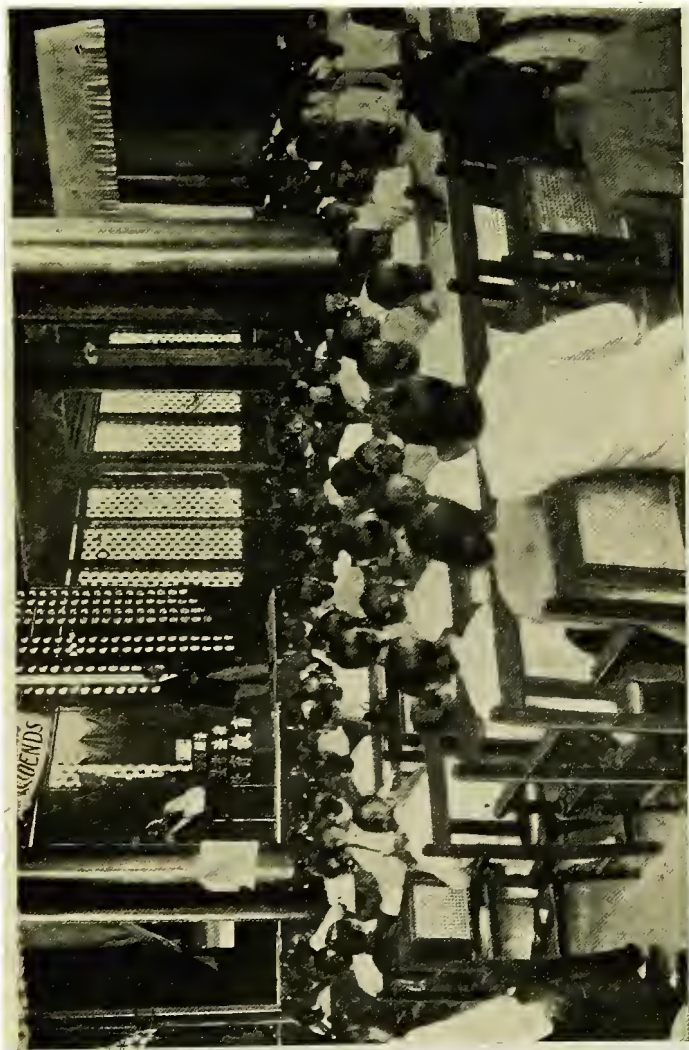
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"We find that he [the Persian] possesses a very low view of the value of morality, which in Mohammedanism has no unique place, but is only one of the ways of attaining salvation. Another way is through accuracy of religious observance, and, when a Persian takes to this, he generally abandons any attempt to live straight. Residents in the country are well aware of this, and are justly inclined to distrust a man who is very particular about his prayers and ceremonial duties. . . . The fact is that Islam has ruined Persia; and it is not fair to the real character of the people to underrate the effect that this religion has produced on them."—NAPIER MALCOLM, *Five Years in a Persian Town*, pp. 111-2.

"There is a growing tendency to monotheism amongst the educated classes throughout India. The European reader of Indian newspapers is frequently astonished at the writers' familiarity with the Bible, while no politician can fail to take note of the influence of Christian thought on social questions, such as polygamy, child marriage and the inequalities of the caste system. . . ."—*Indian Census Report*, 1911, p. 137.

"The most careless observer can tell the house of a Christian convert of some years' standing from that of his non-Christian fellow tribesman by the greater cleanliness of the Christian's house and the general neatness and orderliness of everything about it. The contrast illustrated in this book . . . will help the reader towards an appreciation of the brilliant achievements of the Christian Missions in their noble work of civilizing and educating the aborigines of Chota Nagpur."—S. CHANDRA ROY, *The Mundas*, Calcutta, p. 168.

"You will almost certainly come into contact with the representatives of various Christian missionary societies, whose special work it is to show to non-Christian peoples the love of the Christ whom we profess to serve. We commend these missionaries to you as a body of men and women who are working helpfully with the Government, and contributing to the elevation of the people in a way impossible to official action. Some object to Christian missions in ignorance of their real value. We would suggest that you will use all opportunities of making yourself personally acquainted with the work they are doing, and the character of the converts. Most missions will bear looking into, and we are convinced that, if you will do this, you will never afterwards condemn or belittle them. . . . Some of the noblest characters we have met have been missionaries, and the friendships we have made with them are among



*Chinese women attending a lecture in a
"Health Campaign." (See page 50.)*

our cherished memories."—*Letter to officers from the three Field-M Marshals, ROBERTS, GRENFELL, and METHUEN, 1915.*

The question is asked: "Has the Church made any impression on Chinese Society?" In answer, the following may be stated: Sunday is now regarded as a holiday in government schools, government offices, and in the army. The growing of the poppy and its importation into Fukien has ceased. Foot-binding is going out of fashion. The immolation of widows is no longer popular. Women are enjoying more freedom, and have larger opportunities for self-improvement. Formerly girls had to be paid to come to school. Now they pay tuition. . . . The Church through its annual meetings, schools and Y.M.C.A. conferences is bringing the classes and masses together, and is breaking up the isolation of the patriarchal system and the dialects, and is stimulating love of town, province and country.—*China Mission Year Book, 1915, p. 44.*

"The civilizing influence which the mere presence of a missionary has been to the native population, and the fact that all the native schools in Papua are conducted by missionaries, together with the devoted assistance which the missions have given in combating epidemics constitute . . . a sufficient answer to the contention that the missionaries have done no good, but, upon broader grounds, I think that missions . . . are absolutely necessary to the development of backward races. An uncivilized people who come into contact with Europeans will inevitably be led, sooner or later, to abandon their old customs and beliefs, which have served as a guide for generations . . . and, when these are gone, the 'native' is lost, unless some one is there to put some form of religious teaching in their place. The Government obviously cannot do this, and it is not likely that the majority of the settlers will, and, unless the missionary is there to help him, the native is left like a ship without a rudder, and will run a great risk of being wrecked in the sea of an alien civilization."—J. H. P. MURRAY (Governor), *Papua or British New Guinea*, Preface, pp. 8-9.

CHAPTER II

THE VALUE OF LIFE

"'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant ;
More life, and fuller, that I want."

(TENNYSON, "The Two Voices.")

WHAT value do we put upon a man, a woman, or a child ? Not the chosen heroic spirits, not only the interesting, active-minded people of the set in which we live, but the man with dirty clothes or none at all, the commonplace and the degraded, the dependent and the immature ; what do these mean to us ? Is the lift-man in the Tube a human being or a machine ? What of the Lascar in slops and clumsy boots slouching down the East India Dock Road ? Do we think of a man, to use Kant's distinction, as an end in himself, or only as a means ? Or do we ignore him altogether ?

We have here the summary of the whole book. There is no aspect of human life or organization to which the social problem is not related, and to discuss the subjects of each chapter will be so much time wasted unless we can apply one side or another of this universal touchstone : what do we think of humanity as such ? What of the individuals near or far, who, for us, compose humanity ? It is life that we seek, more life and fuller. *And it must be sought for all.*

But though each subsequent chapter will revert

to this as its foundation principle—so that apart from convenience we scarcely need divide the book into chapters at all—for practical purposes we shall gain by concentration, and this section deals with mere physical existence as the simplest manifestation of our problem. If existence on its physical side is of any value, how shall we best set about its conservation ?

I

The first thing that we must face is that paganism, as a whole, is extraordinarily reckless of human life. Primitive peoples murder like the family of Robber Brown in the “Bab Ballads.” The present Governor of Papua tells how a native—

“irritated because a baby would not stop crying, killed, not the baby, but his own mother ; and . . . a man split open the head of another because he could not find his knife—the other man had never seen the knife, but that was immaterial.”¹

Head-hunting in the South Seas was carried on in a spirit not unlike that of fox-hunting or football. I have by me an old bamboo knife used for severing heads in Papua, and the cane sling in which they were carried home. The notches on the knife suggest thirteen or fourteen decapitations, and heaven only knows how many bleeding trophies the sling has borne in its time. The women, going out to meet the victors, used to sing the gory procession back into their village. I have been in large districts in the Papuan Gulf, where cannibalism still survives. The horror of taking life simply is not there. In the Pacific a century ago the decks of sacred canoes were washed down with

¹ J. H. P. Murray, *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 214.

human blood, and the war canoes of the chiefs were launched over the bodies of men laid as so many rollers on the launching slips. In parts of the world human sacrifice was the accepted thing; in Raratonga, for instance, certain families were "devoted" to it. Many a big building had men or women buried alive at its corner posts. It is essential that we should nowhere be deluded by any fancy picture of the noble savage. Savagery is never noble, and this disregard of life does not show itself in bravery, but in cowardly attacks on the defenceless and in treachery towards an equal force. Savage warfare is a dirty business at its best.

The life of Mary Slessor of Calabar has recently revealed the horrors of heathenism in West Africa. Death and terror reigned everywhere. The chiefs, with clearings round their settlements, and armed scouts always on the alert, yet slept in constant fear of attack. When any notable person died, many common folk were sacrificed. In the native view, no deaths of a violent character took place apart from witchcraft; to requite the witchcraft there must be more deaths, and thus the seed of murder propagated itself ever anew. Twins were killed at birth, and the mother driven out into the bush.

It is sad to note how the disregard of life survives into the higher civilizations. We should perhaps expect the Armenian massacres under Islam, where any land outside the faith is *Dar-al-harb*, an "Abode of War," consecrated to war, that is to say, for the glory of the Lord.¹ We are surprised, however, to find that even among a normally humane people like the Chinese, life is little accounted of. A fit of temper so often leads to

¹ D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, p. 275.

suicide that one of the common cases in a Chinese hospital is opium poisoning; a man, or more often some poor oppressed woman, has found opium the handiest means of attempting self-destruction. Sometimes suicide is actually a weapon of offence, for the man at whose door the body lies may expect ill repute among his neighbours, and the unfriendly attentions of the spirit of the victim. Till a few years ago, unwanted girl babies were murdered or exposed just as advised in the cold-blooded Egyptian papyrus of A.D. 1.¹ When the Woosung railway was newly opened a good many Chinese were run over and killed. The Company compensated the relatives at the rate of forty Mexican dollars, roughly equivalent to £4, but they found accidents increasing suspiciously, and were compelled to lower the tariff. There were many to whom the chance of bequeathing £4 meant more than life! During the famine of 1907 certain Chinese officials did all in their power to obstruct famine relief, and, in order to create any confidence among likely givers, Europeans had to be put in charge of the administration of the funds. At that time, too, women were publicly sold by their husbands. In Japan, as lately as 1912, General and Countess Nogi committed suicide to show their concern for the death of the old Emperor, though, as we should think, he died full of years and honour.

The mention of China and Japan recalls the paradox that Buddhism, with all its insistence upon the crime of taking life of any sort or degree, has proved itself less able to teach the sanctity of human life than other religions. The reason is, after all, not so very far to seek. To teach that all life is equally sacred, and that it is a sin to kill

¹ T. R. Glover, *The Jesus of History*, p. 66.

vermin, is to reduce the whole theory of life to unreality. If the taking of any and every life is equally heinous, the tendency is irresistible to regard the murder of a man as on a level with the killing of one of the lower animals. To treat all lives as if they were of the same quality actually lowers the respect for life in its higher forms. Not only is there universal testimony that in Buddhist lands cruelty to living animals is at least as common as in non-Buddhist countries, but the murder record for Ceylon is higher than that for any other government of which the statistics are known; while in Burma, the only Buddhist part of British India, there are thirty-nine "true cases" of murder per million of population (that is to say, cases which are found to be worthy of investigation before a magistrate), against less than thirteen per million for the rest of British India.

The murders committed by the Thugs, the professional stranglers of India, were preceded by the worship of the goddess Kali, and followed almost immediately by worship again.¹ It is a disquieting sign of the extreme Anarchist movement in India that this same goddess of blood has been taken for its patroness. This is another case in which religion gives its whole-hearted support to crime.

II

True, among most of the great nations the regard for human life is growing, but in the above

¹ Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*. The story is placed in the first third of the nineteenth century, but the systematic murder of travellers in Central India probably goes back to a much earlier date.

facts we see how little we can depend on the moral forces of common life, or indeed of the native creeds. Unless, again, there be a change of heart, it is only too possible that brutality, like a weed cut down but not uprooted, may put out new shoots in unexpected places. Nothing but a change of heart can destroy the evil at its source. In all probability, quite apart from missionary action, among the primitive tribes also such murders would have disappeared with the advance of civilized man and the coming of settled government. But what is the cost of transition? The first contact with white people has often been very costly to the brown races. Some tribes have been wiped out, some enslaved, and far too many of the rest have been reduced to tutelage and serfdom. The brutality of the savage has met the more successful brutality of the white man;—there is little to be gained by inquiring from which side the provocation most often came. Time and again white men have gone on the principle quoted by Mr Dooley :—

“ . . . An Gin’ral Sherman says, ‘Th’ on’y good Indyun is a dead Indyun!’ An’ that’s a good sayin’, too. So, be th’ powers, we’ve started in again to improve th’ race; an’, if we can get in Gatlin’ guns enough before th’ winter’s snows, we’ll turn thim Chippeways into a cimitry branch iv th’ Young Men’s Christiyan Association. We will so.”

Not a few of the brown races have been civilized into the cemetery.

In his last year Bishop Patteson wrote :—

“ . . . Labour ships were frequently on the coast—all the three varieties: the fairly conducted one with a Government agent on board; the ‘Snatch-s snatch,’ which only inveigled, but did not kill without necessity; and the ‘Kill-kill,’ which absolutely came head-hunting. . . ”¹

¹ C. M. Yonge, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson*, p. 368.

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Soon afterwards the Bishop was murdered, and his body was floated back to his friends in a canoe. They found five knots in the palm-leaf laid upon his breast, showing that he had been attacked in revenge for five islanders kidnapped, and as their kinsmen supposed, done to death.

Sometimes the motive of the whites was gain, and to secure it there was no atrocity from which they shrank. The slave trade in all its licensed and unlicensed forms has exacted an awful levy of human lives. Scarcely one-third of those embarked on the African coast lived to reach the other side of the Atlantic, while Livingstone estimated that, calculating from the interior, less than one-tenth arrived at their destination.¹ We shall touch slavery again when we deal with commercialism in Chapter V.

Often the temper of the murderers seems to have been sheer motiveless cruelty. The Blue Book describing German oppression in South-West Africa contains some facts about the treatment of the Hereros which obviously sent a shudder through such Germans as the novelist, Gustav Frenssen.² Unfortunately, these can be matched in quality and spirit by Olive Schreiner's story, *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*. The history of the extermination of the Tasmanian natives is ghastly, perhaps most of all because stupidity was nearly as fatal as ill-will.³ Only in 1915 the Government of Ceylon was thrown off its balance by an uprising of the Buddhists against the Moslems. Orders were given to suppress it with the ferocity of panic.

¹ D. Fraser, *The Future of Africa*, pp. 69 and 75.

² *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their treatment by Germany*, August 1918, pp. 61-2.

³ Fitchett, *The New World of the South*.

A scathing judicial verdict has been delivered on the conduct of a few private individuals. It has, however, been impossible to secure any similar report upon the action of the Government officials who had, it was claimed, a larger responsibility. Jack London, a novelist who selects but does not embroider, may be taken as evidence of the individual cruelty of certain white men to the natives in the Pacific. Exactly as one of the appended extracts suggests, measles or other epidemics, peculiarly fatal to tribes not hardened to them, were intentionally introduced into certain islands.¹ Only just before the war, as it seems, the names of the Belgian Congo and Putumayo made us blush that men could be so vile. Even now, in the New Hebrides, under a foolish system of double control by French and English, oppression goes unpunished. When a missionary protested against such a case, the guilty settler actually demanded his prosecution for interference.² The countries are few where black can be sure of securing justice against white.

Anyone who has been abroad knows men and women of the white races, lay-people and sometimes making no profession of Christianity, who are always anxious to help and uplift the men and women native to the land. The peoples of the world, above all the simpler races, owe much to their service. We may be thankful that they are

¹ F. H. L. Paton, *The Kingdom in the Pacific*, p. 31. The problem of the decay of certain native races exercises the attention of the more philanthropic governments, but many tribes have already died out, and it seems as if contact with white men was often dangerous in itself. Where such contact is allowed to produce its dangers with no attempt to mitigate them, as has too frequently been the case, the governing power is responsible for the waste of life. In such a case the evil is wrought for want of thought.

² M. Pierre Bernus, quoted by Paton, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

found so often, for it is on them that we of Britain depend for our good name. Unfortunately their goodness cannot undo the bullying and crime of the baser sort. These cruelties are not fiction, they do happen, and their effect is something we have no right to overlook.

If, like the sparrows, no human being falls to the ground without our Father, what an atonement of divine suffering we men are laying upon Him !

III

But there are worse things than physical death, and we must not speak as if cruelty contented itself with murder. The inhumanity of black men or white is capable of defiling and debasing life till death itself were almost mercy. The terror of witchcraft and the fear of breaking a sacred prohibition or *tabu* make men cringe and cower like terrified children. Frank Paton quotes the case of three men who died of panic, because they had broken a *tabu* in using a tinder-box without knowing that it was sacred to the chief.¹ Mary Slessor, like Livingstone before her, tells of the horrors of trial by the ordeal of poison with its inevitable waste of innocent lives. Again, when she inquired as to the meaning of scars on a widow's arm, she got the careless answer that they were the marks of the departed husband's teeth ! Coillard saw Lobengula take a firebrand and burn away the lips of a wretched boy who had told him a lie. It is well to remember that slavery grew up long before, and apart from, European or Arab slave-trading for profit.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The same observer describes a slave-market at which 600 women and children were divided up.¹ Hospital reports prove that Chinese girl slaves are often treated with fiendish brutality. The caste system of India, especially in its attitude to the untouchable, depressed classes, shows what may come from ignoring the value of human beings as such.

Throughout heathenism, as a whole, passion is unrestrained. Even the rigid law of the higher faiths has been powerless to master it. It is false psychology to strive to suppress our emotional nature, the most fundamental part of us. Suppress it in one direction, it breaks out in another.

Devil possession is a fact, something like lunacy and yet seeming to speak of some awful intrusion of personified evil, but, as we know it to-day, it can be explained by the violence (which those under Christian discipline can scarcely credit) to which the victim gives himself with voluntary self-abandonment and self-identification. When this is coupled with the belief that these flames are lighted by demonic power, and there is nothing to do but let them burn, the phenomena can be explained. Yet devil possession is only the culmination of an ascending scale. Among the more degraded types drunkenness, robbery, gambling, opium smoking, drugging with hemp or morphia, are sadly common. Babies learn filthy speech with their earliest words. In China, I have seen tiny children, barely tall enough to look on to the low table, gambling away like seasoned hands.

Let us not think that these sins and brutalities continue all day and every day. Even for the most demoralized societies there are long intervals

¹ Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, pp. 35, 471.

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of natural work, bucolic laughter and simple gladness, but always sin standeth at the door, and heathenism at any moment may justify its name. Livingstone writes of a journey with friendly Africans :—

“ . . . I travelled in a company of 160 in 33 canoes. From the chief downwards all strove to show kindness. Nine weeks' intimate intercourse—hearing their conversation, anecdotes, quarrelling, roaring, dancing, singing, and murdering, have imparted a greater disgust at heathenism than I have ever had before. And in comparison with Southern tribes a firm belief that missionaries effect a great deal more than they are aware of, even when there are no conversions. . . . ”¹

In a letter referring to the same journey, Livingstone well calls them “ children of nature.” Some may be taken by the pretty phrase, but nature, even if left alone, never produced a clean and stable society. For that we need the revelation which changes “ children of nature ” into sons of God.

Nor is nature left alone. In comes the inevitable white man, the carrier of new bacteria. Too often, indeed, the metaphor is literal truth. Syphilis has been introduced by the white man's exotic vice into places where before his coming simple animal uncleanness had evolved nothing so loathsome. To take only a few instances, the disease is reported to be running its deadly course through large tracts of South Africa, through Uganda and through the villages on the Papuan Gulf. Mary Slessor said that “ gin, guns, and chains ” were the staple articles of commerce among the tribes she knew,² and in British West Africa the importation of spirits rose from 4,705,898 gallons in 1906 to 6,835,188 in 1911,

¹ See also David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels* (Ward Lock), p. 197.

² W. P. Livingstone, *Mary Slessor of Calabar*, p. 60.

while in French West Africa in the four years before 1912 the figure of 3,600,000 was more than doubled.¹ There are West African Colonies where gin counts as currency, and the gin is consigned from "Christian" ports. In some parts of the world the existence of whole peoples is threatened. Through certain spheres of life and to a partial degree we of the so-called Christian nations have regulated our conduct by the New Testament, but we have not begun to understand the lesson of the first chapters of the Old—we do not feel that we are our brothers' keepers.

This indictment of the peoples in so far as they are without God may easily be wearisome, and I will end it. Remember only that, if it is a weary catalogue to read, it is more weary to suffer, and that the world's Newgate Calendar is not yet complete.

IV

In regard to the missionary, even his critics will testify that, from the earliest dawn of missions, he has perpetually "interfered." In face of the cruelties of heathenism men and women have risked and sacrificed their own lives to save the lives of others. As their husbands were away, two women, Mrs Calvert and Mrs Lyth, pressed into the forbidden presence of the Fijian king, Tanoa of Bau, and begged for the lives of fourteen women marked for slaughter in a cannibal feast. Mary Slessor mounted guard at her door to protect a wretched fugitive flying from her would-be murderers. Such stories are legion. Nor have missionaries been satisfied to protect their victims. Their message has extinguished the blood lust itself.

¹ *International Review of Missions*, January 1914, p. 51.

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In less than a generation tribes famed for cruelty have been transformed into loyal, conciliatory members of settled society. When in East Papua C. W. Abel was administering the Communion to certain groups of the Church gathered in one place for the first time, it suddenly flashed across him that of the two chiefs who sat on either side as deacons one had killed the wife of the other in the old cannibal days. They were now friends by reason of the death of Christ. At Suau, thirty miles further west, I saw the ledge of rock where at low tide the villagers used to cut up the bodies of their victims only forty years ago. Now the Church overlooks the spot, the proof and guarantee that such things are at an end. From this island came the very competent "boy" who steered our launch 600 miles down the Papuan coast—as gentle and self-restrained as one could wish a man to be.

We must remember that in all mass movements, once converts were gathered, the missionary has never had to stand alone, for the native leaders of the Church have not been a whit behind in battling for the sanctity of human life.¹ Before he could be said to have understood much more than the existence of a great Father-Spirit in heaven, Kone, the Papuan rain-maker of Delena, set out to end the state of ancestral blood-feud with the villages near by, and in the process gave his life to save one of the peace envoys from treacherous attack. He was probably the first Christian martyr from the Papuan races.² Frank Paton gives a striking experience :—

"One night as the writer was passing down the coast by sea, village fires twinkled here and there along the dark coast line, while at other places the villages were in total darkness. On

¹ F. H. L. Paton, *Lomai of Lenakel*.

² Lovett, *Life of Chalmers*.

inquiring the reason of this, he found that the fires were burning in the Christian villages where the people had nothing to fear, and were sitting chatting around their family fires before retiring for the night. The heathen villages were in darkness, because the people dared not light their fires, in many cases dared not even sleep in their houses, but crept out into the scrub lest their village should be attacked in the night. . . ."¹

Where Christianity has won its victory recently enough for the elders to remember the old bad times, it is impressive to hear the feeling with which they speak of the change from days of perpetual suspicion and nights disturbed by constant fears, to friendship with their neighbours and the unbroken nights of a land made peaceful by the Gospel.

In the same way the preaching of the Gospel puts away sin, and sin is always anti-social. To remove the filthiness of speech and act, the drunkenness, the quarrelling, and other vices prevalent in heathenism, is to lay the foundations of a better order. We saw three pages back how Livingstone, travelling continuously with a heathen party, received by contrast a new impression of what missionaries had done for the tribes further South. The natives know it themselves. I shall not readily forget the pressure brought to bear by one village in West Papua to induce us to send them a teacher. They based it on the surprising ground that all their young men were in gaol, but as they went on we understood and sympathized. "Our young men," they said, "had no one to guide them, and they began fighting a neighbouring village. The police came down and took them all off to gaol. *They would be with us now, if we'd had a teacher.*" No one will deny that the village was able to judge what was for its own moral interest.

¹ *The Kingdom in the Pacific*, p. 98.

Unfortunately, in this case, the Mission had no man suitable nor the money to pay him.

Missions have been no less the champions of the natives against white oppression. John Smith of Demerara, who died in prison in 1814, because he had befriended the slaves (and in the last resort because he refused to take up a rifle against them), was the forerunner of the missionaries who, a few years ago, were locked up for revealing the true facts about the Congo Government. Missions have always stood for the rights of the oppressed. There is curious evidence from the South Seas which could be matched in other parts, that not only did the presence of the European missionary put an end to kidnapping and the grosser forms of outrage, but that even a native teacher, who could report to the missionary at a distance, was a sufficient protection against the white blackguard.

Yet the negative harvest of mission service is far less than the positive value it has given to human life. What a world of difference it makes to any race whether the first white men to settle among them are Christians or the reverse! John Williams, Selwyn, Mungo Park, Livingstone, H. M. Stanley, James Chalmers, Selous, George Brown, have approached the primitive peoples in such a spirit that, from the very outset, every influence has been in favour of good relations. Like the young men who take in hand the hooligans of our slums, they have taught the natives to drop their old provocative methods and, exactly as in the English slums, their manly Christian justice has been the most necessary element of their persuasive power. Is it wonderful that C. T. Loram should write in his book on *The Education of the South African Native*—

"It is said that a certain wise old Native chief divided Europeans into two classes, viz., white men and missionaries. The distinction is significant. To the thoughtful Native the white man is the disintegrating force which has broken down his tribal customs and sanctions, and has replaced them with nothing but innumerable and vexatious governmental restrictions introduced for the benefit of the white man. On the other hand, he knows the missionary to be his friend. It is the missionary who educates his children, who writes his letters, who cares for him in sickness and sorrow, who acts as a buffer between him and the local store-keeper or Government official, and whose motives are always altruistic." ¹

In *The Outcastes' Hope*, by G. E. Phillips,² there is a story of a chief of police, who on the railway station began to talk to a convert from the outcaste Chuhras. (Before they became Christians men of this caste had only too much reason to shrink from the police.) Finding he was a Christian the officer asked in what way he was the better for his conversion. The man drew himself up and answered, "Well, for one thing I am not now afraid of you." This is the kind of manhood bred by Christian missions, the manhood of trust and fellowship. For twenty centuries Hinduism has only trampled these people lower in the slough of despond—in India a slough indeed! With the Gospel comes self-respect.

Medical missions have their own literature (which should be mastered), and we need do no more than refer to their influence. Even in parts of Britain a dispensary is a boon. What must it be in the countries where the only native medical apparatus is the bag of the witch-doctor, or the kit of the native physician, where the leper is abandoned to his lonely fate, and where treatment may take the form of beating the patient well-nigh to death in the hope of expelling the evil

¹ p. 73.

² p. 82.

spirit? However cursory our treatment of the subject, it is important to grasp the fact that even in countries like India, where there is a fine Government service, missions are to the fore. There are in India at least two sanatoria for consumptives under mission control, yet in the comprehensive "Report on the Material and Moral Progress of India," 1913, I can find no evidence that Government has advanced so far. It is all the more significant that it is a missionary, Dr A. Lankester, to whom Government has entrusted inquiry on which it purposes to base an attempt to grapple with tuberculosis. During the last three years remarkable health campaigns have been conducted up and down China by Dr Peter, under the joint auspices of the National Medical Association, the China Medical Missionary Association, and the Y.M.C.A. Every modern device is employed to bring home the dangers of imperfect sanitation, and it is little wonder that Dr Peter receives support from many who would not call themselves Christian, yet love their fellow-men.

It is not only that the missionaries are in such touch with the people that from the first they detect special needs. Patients recognize Christian sympathy as an extra capacity for healing, and will therefore make long and costly journeys to mission hospitals. Government can pay for men of high qualifications (though the call of Christ induces men with degrees as high to accept a missionary salary), but pay does not always guarantee sympathy, and this applies especially to the subordinate officers about a hospital, on whom so much depends. Our reference to the vast work of medical missions is shamefully scant, yet it is sufficient to show how practical is the

declaration they embody of the value of human life. The medical missionary believes in man, body, mind, and spirit, in the high caste and the low caste, the civilized and the savage alike, and his ambition is to restore health to frames shattered or diseased, that all men may enjoy life and use it to the full. Our social reformers, seeking at home to establish school clinics and national medical service, will know how to esteem this continuation into the twentieth century of the healing work of Jesus, the Good Physician.

V

As we return to the subject of missions in general, let us grant that they have been far from realizing all they might do in order to bring abundant life. In some rare cases there has been the anxiety to secure proselytes much as one might count herrings into a barrel. In other cases, the Christianity presented has been negative, a bondage rather than a liberation of spirit and activity. We have remembered too seldom that a high coefficient for outward life is essential for the health of the soul. It remains yet to give laughter and beauty to the Christian Church. However Governments may lag behind, the attempt to remove such curses as tuberculosis comes later than it should in the missionary programme, and it is well that attention is being devoted to the devitalizing effects of hookworm and certain other forms of widespread disease.¹ We have not linked ourselves sufficiently with Government nor understood how many Government servants

¹ Notably by the Rockefeller Medical Foundation; see its annual reports.

are anxious for the moral support and the counsel of those who know social conditions from a different angle. We may learn much from the general approval given recently to the courageous enterprise of the Y.M.C.A. in calling for help to brighten the gloomy, tempted life of Indian soldiers and Chinese labourers. A similar enterprise and ideals as large would meet with the same reward in most countries, quite apart from the stimulus of war conditions.

A mistake of another kind, but more prevalent and more fatal, is that hitherto we have called out so little native philanthropy. If the developments suggested in the last paragraph are to be carried through entirely at Western expense, I am not particularly anxious to see them. They would come dangerously near to bribery. As it is, there are districts where Christians treat mission hospitals as existing primarily for themselves! True, there is much service of the needy in the native Church, but as yet it cannot compare with that of the first three centuries of Christian history.¹ This is the more unfortunate in countries like China where, in connection with philanthropic guilds, rich men have given large sums for various forms of charity. Even if the inspiring motive be largely the acquisition of merit, the results accomplished show how strong is the human instinct for helpfulness. To that instinct we have failed to make a worthy appeal. We must allow for the fact that, as a rule, the members of the Church are poor in money (so, of course, was the early Church), but the finest social service is not mainly a matter of money. We shall do well to make our Western giving to any country a challenge to her

¹ Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*.

own sons and daughters to sacrifice in measure due for the blind and deaf, the halt and lame around them. In these days when the philanthropic side of missions is popular with those whose minds crave for concrete results, we must see that we do not atrophy the spiritual life of the native Churches by doing everything for them. Only as we teach the spirit of service shall we recover the glorious, expansive life of the early Church. But is not our failure in the mission field due in part to the fact that our Churches at home do so little to serve the vicinity in which they are set?

Yet all that can be said in criticism amounts rather to encouragement than to blame. There has been no service for the race like that of foreign missions, and the subsidiary humanitarian efforts of the friends of missions. Our business is not only to maintain but greatly to intensify it, and for that purpose we must call for help from many sides. We cannot do without the conscious Christian service of every honest politician, whatever may be his party label, of the Government official, of the captain of the coastal steamer, of the merchant and non-missionary doctor, if we are to pour oil and wine into the wounds of a world that has fallen among thieves. We can as little dispense with the unique and characteristic contribution which wives and daughters have it in their power to bring.

There is a great work before us, worthy of the highest loyalty and the profoundest statesmanship. Men are enslaved even when they are nominally free. Men live in unclean surroundings of body and uncleaner surroundings of mind. Races are dying out; perhaps even worse, races are living on but losing self-respect and manhood. The look of hunted things is in their eyes.

Others have their claim upon us because, thank God, they have seen across the sky the first long fingers of the dawn. The great mass movements among the fifty million outcastes of India show the stirrings of hope, as do the struggles of the African for education or the protests against the degradation of Indians in the Transvaal. Such peoples are merely seeking life and for help in their search they look to us. Neville Talbot is not far wrong when he writes : " I believe that if one saying can summarize the practical theology of Jesus, it is His emancipating declaration that ' it is *not* the will of the Father that one of these little ones should perish.' " ¹ It is ours to fulfil His purpose of emancipation. Christ calls all men to break oppression, and set the captive free. Our part is to see that everywhere upon this globe men shall be men, and inherit as souls free-born a life enlarged and enlarging. The physical fact of manhood and womanhood must carry with it the inheritance of the sons and daughters of God ; God must mean to us something more rich and glorious than as yet we imagine, a Person summing up in Himself all the beauty, laughter, heroism and aspiration of our noblest dreams. And we must make men rich and glorious like Him.

Yet these hopes are still very, very far from fulfilment. For many, indeed for multitudes, this present world is a place not of glory and joy, but of monotony, oppression, and humiliation. We who read this are privileged, some more, some less. Does not the acceptance of that privilege involve a point of honour ?

Or we may put the same idea in another way. The service we ask will be nothing if it is not costly as the oil of spikenard from the broken

¹ *Religion behind the Front and After the War*, p. 33.

vase of alabaster. Over against the suffering of the world God must suffer, if He be as Jesus showed Him on the cross. Are we not bound, each in our own way, to fill up that which is lacking of the sufferings of Christ? Are we not called to help to bear the world's pain? I do not mean that we should seek suffering for its own sake; only that we should not shrink from it if we suspect it lies upon the path which God would have us tread. It may come or it may not. If so far the way of suffering is not clear, but only the way of service, have we any right to refuse?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- D. Fraser. *The Future of Africa*. U.C.M.E. 1s. net.
 G. E. Phillips. *The Outcasts' Hope*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.
 Frank Paton. *The Kingdom in the Pacific*. U.C.M.E. 1s. 3d. net.
 H. T. Hodgkin. *The Way of the Good Physician*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.
 F. Lenwood. *Pastels from the Pacific*. Milford. 7s. 6d. net.
 Maurice Evans. *Black and White in South-East Africa*. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
 W. P. Livingstone. *Mary Slessor of Calabar*. Hodder. 5s. net.
 Harnack. *Missions and the Expansion of Christianity*. Williams & Norgate. 25s. net. (Two vols.)

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"A white man came down from the boat, and sat in the bow of Sorova's canoe, but presently stood up and capsized both canoes, catching at Sorova's belt, which broke, and the poor fellow was thus enabled to get away and . . . strike out for land; but he saw a boat come round from the other side of the ship, with four men—whether whites or light-coloured islanders was not clear—but they proceeded to beat his companions with oars, then to fall on them with tomahawks, and finally cut off their heads, which were taken on board, and their bodies thrown to the sharks. . . . These men evidently belonged to that lowest and most horrible class of men-stealers, who propitiate the

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chiefs by assisting them in head-hunting.”—C. M. YONGE, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson*, p. 369.

“‘A great sickness came,’ I interrupted, for I recognized the trick. The schooner had had measles on board, and the six prisoners had been deliberately exposed to it. ‘Yes, a great sickness,’ Oti went on. ‘It was a powerful devil-devil. The oldest man had never heard of the like. . . . The sickness spread. I have said that there were ten thousand of us that stood hip to hip and shoulder to shoulder on the sandbank. When the sickness left us, there were three thousand yet alive.’”—JACK LONDON, *South Sea Tales*, p. 135.

“There was Billy Watts, horrible reputation as nigger-killer, a man to scare the devil. I remember . . . when the niggers stole half a case of trade-tobacco—cost him about three dollars and a half. In retaliation he turned out, shot six niggers, smashed up their war canoes, and burned two villages. . . .”—*Ibid.*, p. 211.

“The organization of the household is very largely outside the operation of the ordinary law. I do not know what is the exact legal limit of the *jus paternum* [father’s authority], but I am quite sure that it is very difficult to bring to book the head of a household for murdering any member of his family.”—NAPIER MALCOLM, *Five Years in a Persian Town*, p. 181.

“One or two instances of the lengths to which crime can go in Persian houses without arousing much notice from the authorities might be recorded. There was in Yezd one man who stabbed his own child in his mother’s arms, and remained absolutely unpunished. He was still flagrantly ill-treating his wife and children while we were in the town. In the Isfahan district, a man murdered his child-wife by pouring paraffin over her and lighting it. The child died in the Julfa hospital. If any punishment was inflicted it was a very light one. There was another woman in Yezd dangerously stabbed by her son-in-law, but as she did not die, even her family took very little notice of the matter. . . .”—*Ibid.*, p. 184.

“One of the Tokio papers called attention to the fact that while the average life of people in England is 43 years, in Japan it is only 33.”—*Christian Movement in Japanese Empire*, 1917, p. 14.

“. . . The sad condition of the lepers in the Province of Kwangsi was revealed by news of a terrible massacre of thirty-nine lepers by order of the Tutuh, on December 14, 1912. It appears that the lepers of Nanning had become such a terror to the people that they offered no opposition to this butchery. . . .

The leper village was surrounded, a large pit was dug, and the lepers, including women and children, were then driven at the point of the bayonet into this pit. They were then shot by the military and the corpses burned. It appears that this was done notwithstanding the offer of a local mission to erect a Lazar House and care for them. . . ."—*China Mission Year Book*, 1913, p. 403.

" . . . At the present time quite a number of missionary societies have established leper homes or asylums in China. In this they have often been financially helped by the Society to Lepers of Great Britain. Various members of the staffs have also been encouraged to minister to the bodily and spiritual welfare of the many lepers congregated in villages. In these Christian leper homes the leper has been kindly treated, housed, clothed and fed. When death has come to relieve the sufferer of his distress he has been reverently buried in the graveyards in connection with the institutions. . . ."—*China Mission Year Book*, 1915, p. 304.

The following is from an important article on Co-operative Health Exhibitions in China arranged by Dr W. W. Peter :—

"Tuberculosis claims its 852,348 victims in a year in China, and by a method which is truly spectacular Dr Peter brings home to the thoughtless this awful waste of the nation's strength. Out of a miniature Chinese home [*i.e.* a working model] a constant procession of little men, women and children, walk—one every eight seconds—and fall into an open grave, as a bell tolls a funeral knell. Is it any wonder the people are stirred to ask, 'What can we do to arrest this procession?' "—*The Missionary Review of the World*, January 1918, p. 23.

"The missionaries gather a rich harvest among the depressed classes. . . . Then we have to take into account the work . . . among the criminal tribes, etc. Some of the flower of the Christian community hailing from distant lands spend their lives in such work. . . . The missionaries whole-heartedly try to ameliorate the social condition . . . by teaching them various arts and industries. . . . No fair-minded Hindu can ignore the good work that the missionaries are doing, and have done, in the educational field, and we have no quarrel with those who honestly feel that in Christianity alone is the salvation of mankind, and who try to win over converts by honest means."—*Allabad Leader* (a daily newspaper for Indians with no Christian bias), 1918.

"Instead of a savage heathen kingdom, where a man's life was rated at the price of an ox, and a woman was an article of barter, and where justice went to the highest bidder, the Uganda

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of to-day is a well-ordered State, steadily improving in the arts of civilization and culture, where no man can lose his property or his life at the arbitrary will of the great. . . . A large share in its accomplishment is undoubtedly due to the patient toil of the Christian missionaries, who have adhered steadfastly to their self-imposed task through the stormy times of war, and through the dark days of persecution."—Major J. R. L. MACDONALD, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*, p. 143.

The official attitude of Islam to non-Islamic human life is shown in the Koran as follows:—

Believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are your neighbours, and let them find you rigorous: and know that God is with those who fear him.—*Sura 9*, verse 124.—RODWELL'S translation, p. 484.

When thy Lord spake unto the angels, "I will be with you: therefore stablish ye the faithful. I will cast a dread into the hearts of the infidels." Strike off their heads then, and strike off from them every finger-tip.

This, because they have opposed God and his apostle.—*Sura 8*, verses 12, 13.—*Ibid.*, p. 376.

Say to the infidels: If they desist from their unbelief, what is now past shall be forgiven them; but if they return to it, they have already before them the doom of the ancients!

Fight then against them till strife be at an end, and the religion be all of it God's.—*Sura 8*, verses 39, 40.—*Ibid.*, p. 378.

" . . . We all recognize that the [African] preacher himself has not yet appreciated the breadth and height of the mind of Christ, and that he makes a disproportionate emphasis on certain public sins. . . . But his limited range has revolutionized many aspects of village life. Drunkenness, polygamy, the craft of the witch-doctor, raiding, licentious dancing, dirt and indolence, neglect of the old, abandoning of abnormal children, worship of the tribal gods and ancestral spirits—these and other common customs which were indulged in openly and without rebuke are to-day known to be wrong, and men acknowledge that they are not following the ideal life when they practise them, though they may not be Christians. . . ."—DONALD FRASER, *International Review of Missions*, April 1913, p. 241.

CHAPTER III

TRUTH AND CHARACTER

"Schoolmasters, when they are such as they ought to be, have it in their power to new model and set right (by God's blessing) once in twenty years a whole kingdom."

(Seventeenth Century writer.)

EDUCATION may fail to attract the attention of other classes, but to the social worker it is crucial, for he knows how much it gives when it is successful and how constantly his efforts are brought up sharp by some sudden proof of its failure, like an attacking army unexpectedly coming upon a sunken road. In the literal meaning of the word education, he wants to see the best "drawn out" from every individual. Only so can he hope for the new world.

I propose to deal in detail with the education problems of two countries only, British South Africa and China, leaving the reader to apply the conclusions by analogy to other fields.

I

In British South Africa there is a total population of just under 6,000,000, of which 21·4 per cent are European, 11·3 per cent coloured or of mixed origin, and 67·3 per cent pure natives of the important and vital Bantu stock. No one will understand the problem who is not mastered by the

sense of this great black majority so easily outweighing the whites. Unlike some native races, the Bantus do not seem to wilt away in the presence of the white man; the census figures of recent years show that their numbers have increased with notable rapidity.¹

But, while the individuals multiply, every year sees a new stage in the decay of the tribe. The wide expanse of the veldt is wide no longer. On this side and on that the white man claims it, till the puzzled native knows not where to graze his herd. The increase of population and the wasteful methods of native agriculture add to the sense of constriction. The young men and a proportion of the girls go off to the settlements and cities of the whites, some to work as labourers or rough domestic servants, others to enter the compounds of the mines. The money they earn is spent with childish ostentation. They come back changed. For good and evil the contact with civilization has made them dissatisfied with the simple and barbaric ways of the village. The old system gives at the joints, the old clothes are replaced by a dirty imitation of European dress, the chief's authority shrivels like a slowly dying tree, and, above all, the old sanctions of religion and pagan morality are feared and regarded no more. These pagan systems were often barbarous, even horrible, but at least they represented a tribal organization which provided some of the advantages of social order. As disintegration proceeds there will be left a confused unwieldy mass of uncontrolled humanity. They will be like the American bison stampeded by the blood-lust of the Indians, till their scattered remnants wandered purposeless and broken across the plain. Remember, however, that in

¹ Maurice Evans, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, pp. 63-4.

the present case the lives at stake are the lives not of bison but of men.

Some attempt is now being made to mitigate the dangers by a policy of segregation. Under the Act of 1913 and later Bills it is proposed to allot certain reserves to the natives and coloured people and to allow them to own land in these only. In the territory set apart for white occupation the native may own no land and fill no other position than that of employé, always, if white labour has its way, an unskilled employé. Speaking broadly, the white man will not be allowed to acquire land in the native areas.

The scheme is open to criticism in detail. The acreage it was at first proposed to allot to the natives was absurdly small. For the 21·4 per cent of white people 260 million acres, and the 40 million acres remaining for the 78·6 per cent of black and coloured! The native leaders claim that a large part of this smaller area is poor land. So often it is "heads I win, tails you lose," when the white man tosses with the native! Then, again, much turns on the conditions under which the native now holding property in white areas is to be compelled to exchange it for a plot in the native reserves. Will these conditions be just? Finally, while the native is kept out of white settlements except as an unskilled labourer, will it be possible to keep the European from entering the native locations and by his prestige and authority defeating the movement towards a new organization of native life? Such are the criticisms. If, however, they can be fairly met—and General Botha seems to be doing his best to meet them—segregation may for a time be justified.

But surely only for a time. No Christian, no lover of his fellows, can look forward to the in-

definite segregation of any race. It is unthinkable that in South Africa the black people should live alongside the whites, divided from them physically by an imaginary frontier, but morally separated by centuries from the life of the ordinary progressive world. Lazarus lying at the gate of Dives is bad enough, but if he is condemned to lie there to the end and his descendants after him, the thing becomes a crime against humanity. The slavery of force is not worse than a slavery based on ignorance and repression. Any honest system of reserves must be a nursery—God grant it may have some of the nursery's tenderness for the weak!—but we do not keep children in the nursery when they are grown, unless we are so diabolical as to wish to make them imbeciles. The segregation system, in plain words, must be a temporary expedient.

II

What will bring it to an end? Nothing but the thorough education of body, mind and spirit. If the native is to have the right to mix with white people, it must be, as Booker Washington saw, because he is capable of making his contribution to society. For that he must be trained. What is being done for this training? There are men in civil life nobly trying to find a way through what at times seems trackless jungle, but C. T. Loram says that "the general attitude of the people of South Africa towards this gigantic problem has been one of indifference."¹ Scarcity of labour, native competition or tribal risings may attract the spasmodic attention of the white man, but the question

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 17.

is too vast, and after each spasm he turns away. Some few have convictions and lead the rest. One party, the Repressionists, carrying with them most of the thoughtless mass, wish the natives to be nothing more than serfs supplying unskilled labour. The Equalists, a smaller party, stand for equal treatment, which as hitherto interpreted generally means *the same* treatment and education. Many native leaders are apt to press this demand as essential to the dignity of their people and to resist the inquiry whether a European time-table is best adapted to their daily needs. Then come the Segregationists, who believe that the Negroes' progress must be slow and that their development need not be on European lines. As expounded by a man like Maurice Evans, the theory of the last class seems best to fit the facts, but we must be on our guard against a coalition between the Segregationists and the Repressionists, whereby segregation is carried through as an instrument, not of education, but of permanent subjection. The Segregationists will be judged by their loyalty to their profession that the native has a right to develop. They must give the native a better chance of ultimate equality than the Equalists, or they will have betrayed those they champion, and stereotyped in Africa something more cruel than the Indian system of caste.

It should be noticed, however, that though he may not hold land in the white territories, the negro is still to go to the mines and the kitchen. The black girl is expected to continue that service in which, far from home, she receives too rarely the moral protection needed in a very mixed community. Indeed South African civilization could not live without the labour of natives. They will still go to Johannesburg, which J. S. Merriman

called the native "criminal university," and which C. J. Levey, member for Tembuland, declared to be "responsible for the growing criminality and the systematic undermining of the best traditions, not only of the native kraals, but also of respect for the white man's authority and loss of faith in his good intentions."¹ All the while the negro is learning. The choice is not between education and leaving him alone—it is between moral and immoral education. Lord Selborne said :—

"The very moment that a native comes into contact with the white man his education has begun, if it is only with the store-keeper in the Government location ; much more when he lives on a farm ; and still more when he comes into domestic service, say, on the Witwatersrand. There his education goes on with a vengeance ; and if that is the only education he receives, who in his senses will believe that the native, uninstructed and unguided, will pick up anything from the white man but what is bad ?"²

Are we to leave the native to teaching of this kind ?

South Africa, too, supplies a peculiarly good example of the principle we touched in our first chapter, that we must Christianize heathenism or it will heathenize us. The morality of the white race is at stake. No society can live alongside another society larger but more degraded than itself, without a definite lowering of its own moral tone. It is a small thing that the raw native is always a possible carrier of physical disease ; vastly more serious is the fact that so much of the early care of the white child is in his hands.

"Comparatively few families are able to afford a European nursemaid. Native boys, and to a lesser extent native girls, are the nursemaids of the majority of our children. A common sight, even in such a comparatively wealthy town as Durban, is a

¹ Quoted in *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 29.

² Address before the University of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 11.

dozen native nurse boys and girls sprawling on the grass while their charges run about and over them. In many cases the conversation of these natives is indescribably filthy. The strongest argument which has been used in urging the lowering of the age of admission to the European infant schools has been the baneful effects of the "Kafir Kindergarten." ¹

Think what it means to entrust children to raw heathen brought up from early youth in unclean thoughts and practices ! Some day we shall wake up to discover the cesspool which lies below our blind and complacent civilization. Even England will not escape the infections that it breeds.

Yet in face of dangers such as these the great mass of whites have neither policy nor concern. As proof we may take the expenditure on education. Normally it is the ignorant and depressed classes to whom a government devotes its particular attention. In South Africa, however, though the natives pay 5 per cent of the taxes and form 78 per cent of the population, only 2 per cent of the education grant is spent upon native schools !

III

It is here that the missionary comes in to give the negro his chance. I must again quote C. T. Loram :—

" The history of native education in South Africa is the history of South African missions, for it is due entirely to the efforts of the missionaries that the natives of South Africa have received any education at all, and to this day [1917] all but three of the several thousand native schools are conducted by missionary agencies." ²

¹ C. T. Loram, *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

You cannot build up a Church on a basis of untaught savagery, and the missionary has been driven, very gladly driven, to take up education. He is better qualified than many others, for his relation with the natives has given him that first requisite of the true teacher—sympathy. Christianity gives to him his incentive, as it gives to the native the necessary dynamic. I have already quoted Loram's own judgment, a quotation the more impressive because I shall have later to refer to his criticism, but he also cites strong outside testimony to the public service done by missionaries in educating the black peoples. Reports of Government Commissions in particular, responsible and balanced as by their nature they are compelled to be, seem agreed in commending missionary education as the only possible way of uplifting the native, and, above all, as the only way of providing him with the new foundation for social life which may take the place of his discredited customs and shattered tribal organization. The missionary is doing what the native cannot do for himself and what the Government cannot do for him.

Stewart of Lovedale was the Thomas Arnold of South African education, and Lovedale is a name to conjure with throughout South Africa. Half a dozen other institutions, though not so large or so well known, are now doing the same work in the same spirit, and we only take Lovedale as the type. There are 750 pupils, 550 being boarders, and the fees paid amount to £8,500 a year. Lovedale was early distinguished by its insistence on the need for manual training to develop the native's best powers. In 1914 173 were apprenticed to trades, and the industrial departments cost £6,764 a year. Government grants only

supplied £1,296 of this, with the unhappy result that the Principal advised no other institution to take up manual training until Government was won over to give more generous support.¹ The staff is large and the buildings are worthy of a great educational centre for any race. There is a fine printing press to provide books in Kafir, and for years it has issued a splendid monthly paper, the *Christian Express*, to champion the cause of the natives and to examine all their problems with breadth and sympathy. By 1900 Lovedale had received 6,640 students (including 753 Europeans). The following were the professions of some of these after leaving College :²—

Teachers (men 458 and women 310)	768
Farming their own land	385
Tradesmen, carpenters, printers, etc.	352
Interpreters, clerks, or postal servants	112
Railway or police	86
Transport, general labour, or mining	about 1000
Domestic servants, married women, or girls employed at home	500

We need no further argument to show how great a contribution this one institution has made to the corporate life of South Africa. Without it and its sister schools what would be the condition of the natives ?

In their simple way the natives are open to new ideas, and they have grasped the fact that education is part of the ladder by which they rise, individually and as tribes. Notably in the Transkei territory, where they are allowed a measure of self-government, they have shown a peculiar willingness to sacrifice for higher education.³

¹ *International Review of Missions*, April, 1914.

² J. Wells, *Stewart of Lovedale*, p. 40.

³ Maurice Evans, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, pp. 124, 257.

The native leaders are groping towards the light with a great desire. They claim the elemental rights of human beings. They want to learn. They realize that even in the science of the outer world, to say nothing of deeper things, they cannot do without the truth that shall make them free. What is to be the attitude of the new British democracy which, with other democracies, will have so much to say as to the future of the world? As we raise the life of those in Europe to whom privilege has hitherto been denied, is the black man to be forgotten? No party is so keen for education as the Labour Party and those not of it who sympathize with its ideals. Is that keenness to be so selfish as to confine itself to Britain? The Greek city state was a democracy to which we all look back for our standards, but it was a democracy based on slavery and it failed. The same judgment will overtake any civilized country which is deaf to the cry of the child peoples for the means to rise to man's estate. "I was in prison and ye visited Me not." The black people are in prison and the Master shares their bondage. If we pass them by, we pass Him also.

IV

Among the countries where missions are at work, with the solitary exception of Japan, it would be hard to find a more complete antithesis to South Africa than the great Republic of China. Perhaps the one point in common is a magnificent physical vitality. In all else they are different. There is no need to dwell upon the glories of China's past. For our purpose it is more important to remember that those who know the Chinese of to-day speak

with enthusiasm of their personal qualities. The finest artistic work of Chinese craftsmen is at least as good as the finest from Japan. Of the two races the Chinese are individually the better. They are straight in business and faithful as friends, industrious to a fault and very thrifty—the most peace-loving nation on earth. In all their classical literature, unlike that of India, there is not a single unclean passage. They have shown the purity and persistence of their moral sense by the repression of the opium traffic. In the last few months their Government has had the moral courage to burn opium stocks to the value of £5,000,000. Wherever they go they earn a good name as productive members of the community.

Yet in China present power seems to avail them as little as past glory. While the Japanese Government is efficient and inspired by the desire to serve the interests of its citizens, and while Japanese corporate life reaches a high standard, China is ugly and treeless, its rivers overflow for want of proper conservation, its houses are tumble-down, its cities insanitary to an incredible degree, the citizens dirty and diseased, while temples and public buildings are the ruins of a period when men wrought better than they do to-day. Under the Empire the Chinese in his own land dared not attempt a new business, invest capital, or show any public sign of wealth. To do so was to attract the attention of the local mandarin, who would speedily squeeze all his profits out of him under the name of taxation. The result was that, while in Malaya, Singapore or the foreign settlements on the China coast able and industrious Chinese were prospering as they deserved and enriching the community of their sojourn, under

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Chinese rule they developed little of their splendid enterprise. What was the use?

The disease goes back to certain external causes which may be identified at once. Till 1912 the Chinese were ruled by the aristocracy of the Manchus, foreign, parasitic and venal. The enormous country was split up into nineteen provinces, each governed by a centralized and undemocratic bureaucracy, which for the most part paid little regard to the Imperial Government. The mandarins received a nominal salary, and were expected to recoup themselves by corruption. The result was the ruin of all government finance. Yuan-Shi-kai, as President of the Republic, received an official report which stated that out of the Imperial taxes collected 30 to 40 per cent stuck to the hands of some functionary on its way to the Treasury.¹ Under such a system what chance had justice and what prospect was there of expenditure for civic betterment? The Government public services were as rotten as those of Japan were efficient. It is to be feared that the Republic has not mended matters much.

But there are causes that go deeper, and of these one of the most potent is the absence of any strong feeling for absolute truth. The Chinese examinations under the old system turned entirely upon essays dealing with and quoting the wisdom of the elders. The typical Chinese scholar was as Rabbinic as the Rabbi and more scholastic than the schoolman. Learning was directed to the teachings of the past, and never escaped their fetters. It was thus an entirely artificial thing and lacking any conception of the search for truth. I cannot pretend to understand the elements which went to make the Japanese so different—I can only

¹ *China Mission Year Book*, 1915.

illustrate the fact. It is not generally known that the modern education system of Japan, quickly, indeed wonderfully, as it has developed, owes very much to the old fabric of schools for the children of the Samurai or "noble" class. The old Chinese system, on the other hand, had to be scrapped to make room for the newer mode of teaching. Then, again, though modern Japanese education is open to certain moral criticisms, the typical Japanese has a surprisingly clear understanding that the student is the searcher for truth. In consequence, he is prepared to break loose from old authorities and sit at the feet of the modern teachers. Yet he manages to do this without putting a slight upon the past. The Chinese, further, is materialistic, seeking for that knowledge which will be a cause of speedy profit; the Japanese adds to this temper an interest in philosophy for thinking's sake, which produces a total result of a very different order.

No one can go to Japan without being impressed by the thorough handicraft of their commonest articles. To take an instance on which my mind focussed time after time, even in ordinary houses the light, unvarnished window frames slide backwards and forwards in a way that is only possible when cabinet-making is superbly done. Such a standard of external accuracy is inaccessible except to a people who have the sense of scientific truth and believe that to be right is an important thing for its own sake. The Chinese attitude, on the other hand, is represented by the common phrase *Ch'a pu té*—"not far out." If a thing is not far out, too often the Chinese is satisfied. But of course such slackness nullifies the search for any of the higher forms of truth.

Now, at the risk of repetition, we must insist

that without a sense of absolute truth there cannot be the satisfactory development of character. Character must be founded on truth. Nothing less than the purest scientific spirit can give it order and regularity. It is useless to expect character from a community still dominated by animistic ideas of the good luck of "wind and water." Character must learn the quiet daily courage which can resist convention, or bribery and foot-binding will not be put away. It must have that power of persistence which will hold on in the face of continued obstruction; the problem of Chinese floods is largely a matter of the slow removal of vested interests, and vested interests are usually buttressed upon superstition. In the name of truth it must be able to protest against lies and compromise. Above all, it must be based on a true idea of God. Character in man is the reflection of character in God, and righteousness in China can only spring from a knowledge of God as holiness and love.

V

It is these things that true education attempts to provide. In the last few years the Government system, where it has not been actually created, has been remodelled. Buddhist temples in large numbers were secularized to provide school houses, and central schools were hastily run up. But there is much evidence that the spurt caused by the revolution was not maintained. There are no trustworthy statistics, but a proportion of the State institutions, started with sounding titles and pretentious time-tables, are now dead or dying. To take the first requisite, suitable teachers were

not available, and in the second place the Treasury could not afford the money. The reader can judge for himself whether, as a whole, the institutions surviving are likely to produce character, even if they teach modern science.

Christian education, meantime, shows a steady growth. As in India British missions bear somewhat the heavier burden, so in China the strongest influence comes from the United States. This is increased by the fact that the American Government surrendered a large part of the Boxer indemnity paid to it, in order to provide scholarships franking Chinese students through a college course in America. In Protestant Christian institutions and schools there are 180,000 pupils, and though naturally the great majority of these are in the elementary grade, the figure is significant and shows the power missionaries have in their hands. How do they use it? It is worth while to quote G. E. Morrison. He was correspondent of the *Times* in Peking (till he became the Adviser of the Chinese Government in Foreign Affairs), and at one time very critical of missions. These are his words:—

“I think it only fair to say that the good name which Englishmen possess in China—a name for straightforwardness and honesty—is due not only to the high character of our official class and our business men, but also to the high character of the English missionaries, whose pleasant English homes are found from one end of the Empire to another. We may criticize some of their methods, but the sum total of the good they do to the maintenance of our good name is beyond calculation. Think what it means to have scattered throughout that vast Empire, in hundreds of stations, high-minded English gentlemen, whose word is their bond, living simple and pure lives—absolutely trusted—who are working solely for the good of the people, undismayed by failure, manly and courageous.”

This quotation does not specially refer to education, but if it reproduces the impression made

by the average missionary, the case is even stronger with the 1,500 men and women missionaries engaged in teaching. These come into close contact with minds at their most malleable stage; as a rule they have to do with the higher grades of pupils and the classes for training teachers. Think what Christian missions contribute to China in putting at the service of her youth men and women "living simple and pure lives—absolutely trusted—who are working solely for the good of the people"! Missions are setting a new standard for the Chinese teachers of the great system which is to be. Surely any social reformer who can see two inches beyond his nose will feel that such service and its support are his direct concern.

VI

With present achievement, however, we cannot be satisfied. In the name of humanity we must summon all those who have the slightest influence upon the course of education to make the service of the educational missionary far more productive than it has yet been. Even though it compares favourably with that given by Government institutions, missionary education frankly is not good enough. It is too like the education some of us received in Britain thirty years ago. Where, as in India or Africa, there are Government codes to reckon with, these are often based on the principles of an earlier generation still. We are coming to see that much of our British education is faulty and ineffective because it ignores the child's desire for practical self-development by the exercise of hand and eye. That is why, after a literary education (save the mark!), so many people of thirty-five cannot read

and write. To such we have never made education mean anything. Nowadays boys and girls are being taught to do things—in America they make their own school buildings and furniture—and by doing to learn the use of theory. But if this revolution is necessary in a country where most boys and girls are brought up to use their hands in one way or another, how much more in countries where education is conceived as the mere accumulation of head knowledge and a release from manual labour ?

The missionary schoolmaster laboriously teaches history, geography, grammar, tables, and when at night the Kafir father asks the boy what he has learnt that day, the boy can give no answer which conveys any meaning to the parent. “What rot !” says the father (or words to that effect), “stay away to-morrow and learn to hunt antelope or to carve a giraffe out of wood.” If there is anything in the modern tendency of education, and if the intellect must be drawn out by the application of each lesson to bodily, concrete things, the father is right and the missionary is wrong, to say nothing of the Government code.

Into the narrow compass of the last two paragraphs is packed a large and revolutionary principle which is destined to remodel education and to leave high and dry any system which will not conform to the new outlook. C. T. Loram shows that in schools for little negroes submission to Government codes suitable (or unsuitable ?) for the white child has caused the waste of much hopeful effort. Indeed, it is thus that he explains what small modicum of truth he allows to underlie the common charge that missions “spoil the native.” Here and there we have produced in our schools those who, soaring far too high for manual work, have proved how useless is the head knowledge they have

absorbed. Booker Washington in *Up from Slavery* tells of a lifelong battle against the demand for this showy and unprofitable teaching.

Similar facts explain the urgency with which the Bishop of Madras appeals for a revision of our methods amid India's great mass movements. Even among Indian students of the highest castes competent observers believe that the teaching given has been too little in touch with life to be really educative, and that this mistake accounts not only for the few cases of anarchy among the student class, but also for a certain sterility characteristic of the "academic" mind. Perhaps the one place where such criticisms have no great relevance is China, a country too practical to accept any education she cannot apply to her daily needs.

But there are other confessions we must make which touch China not less than the rest of the world.

Even in China the missionary is only just beginning to apply to education the principle that you must pass through the known to the unknown. Too often the teacher of the past has broken up native customs without scruple or remorse; heathenism was of the devil, and these things were heathen. The modern missionary is learning to see, in some at least of the ancient ways, the access to new capacities, which, new though they are, fulfil the old. Chinese reverence for ancestors, India's sense of caste solidarity, the tribal loyalty of the African—all such traits as these must play their part in the Christian society we try to create.

One more criticism—missionary education as a whole is spread far too thin. Each village must have its school, each head station its high school. If at centre A there is not a mission college as at centre B, some secular or hostile institution "will

root itself so firmly that Christian teaching will never get its chance again." Such arguments rightly claim a hearing and they should lead the home Church to provide for education more generously than it does to-day. What is not so often admitted, they should compel the missionary statesman to seek for better ways of mobilizing the men and material of the country in question : for the best gifts cannot be handed over by the free largesse of foreigners ; they must be earned by the struggles of the people of the land.

Where, however, neither foreign nor native Church can make fuller provision, it is a fatal mistake to attempt to seize the opportunity in all its wide extent. That way lies inefficiency—in-
efficiency in scholastic teaching, but still more in the realm of character-building and religious influence. The requirements of a code may be fulfilled by a persistent grinding of the missionary's hours till they yield external results. But the greater conquests can only be obtained by teachers who need not grudge the hours of personal contact. To make leaders of the native Church, to guide the under-masters to a true view of their high vocation, you must have leisure. Now leisure is a thing of which the master in a starved school has ceased even to dream, and such a school brings discredit to the name of Christ by its moral and religious unsuccess. Even if we reduce the tale of our institutions, let mission schools be staffed so as to be educationally and religiously effective.

As usual, there is no time to speak up for literature, that Cinderella of the missionary household. We saw one instance of its working at Lovedale, but when we think of the enlightenment it has bestowed in every field, we shall form some partial estimate of its value. The missionary press has

brought the great books of Christendom within the reach of thirsty minds. A body like the Christian Literature Society for China is scattering education with lavish hands. It translates Hastings' single-volume *Dictionary of the Bible*, and has a large edition subscribed for in advance. A missionary and his wife in Madagascar devoted their leisure for eleven years to making a Concordance of the Malagasy Bible as complete as *Cruden* in English. To understand the boon conferred upon inquiring minds, we need only reflect what the Bible has done for merely secular education in Europe. On the other hand, the people of the tiny, isolated Ellice Islands, where 500 is a population above the average, escape complete mental atrophy because of the literature that comes up from the fine Samoan press. Yet how much more there is to do! After teaching boys and girls to read by the hundred thousand, too often we leave them with nothing to read. Others have seen the opportunity for profit, and supply the stuff that pays, poisonous though it be.

VII

But surely these criticisms may be turned inside out to furnish an ideal attractive to all men and women with the instinct for brave and sporting tasks. Noble days lie before us. With untiring ingenuity we have to find a system which shall develop the mind by the help of the body, and commend itself because it makes men and women who can serve the society around them; we must glorify the best of each nation's temperament and history as the foundation for the fabric we plan; we must staff our institutions so as to ensure

reserves of spiritual strength with which to buy up the opportunity, and, making books ourselves, we must set those to make better books who know the music of their mother tongue. Much of the education of the world, especially as it concerns the building of character, will turn upon our action. We shall not treat education as a bait to bring the pupils within reach of the Christian hook. Of itself it is too near to the mind of our Lord to be promoted for any secondary reason. It must be Christian, for only so can it be true education, but it must be efficient in staff and method if it is to bear the Christian name or be reckoned an effective instrument of the kingdom of God. We need exploration, originality, and unflinching truth.

From one well-staffed school in China an old member of the British Student Movement reports the result of Boy Scout work. The scouts have conquered the stolid Chinese desire to grow up prematurely, and are happy boys breathing the free life that boyhood ought to bring. They are learning the naturalness of religion, as boys will, if it be presented aright; they are learning to pray, and though they make funny petitions and get funny answers (God surely enjoys the humour of children's prayers), that only means that prayer has become their own and not a thing dictated by their elders. They have begun to care for others. Above all, their religion is a thing for common life.

"A third form boy, in many ways a most winsome little chap, got the very devil into him and accused another third form boy and X—— of a very serious breach of conduct. There was a great hubbub, and I was called up. I have never seen a boy keep his temper better than X——, though he winced and winced again as the other boy vilified him. 'You don't understand, sir,' he said, talking in English, 'he's stolen my honour.' . . . Suddenly he cried out: 'Listen to him! I must strike

him.' His lips were pressed tight, the tears stood in his eyes and his fists were fast closed ; but—he overcame.

"The sequel to this is most interesting. In four hours not a trace of ill-will remained ; and X—— was only interested in clearing his friend from the stigma of the accusation. . . . He realized, too, that the culprit was in need of help more than anything ; and he promised to do all he could. And when the culprit, with the whole school against him, came down from his dormitory in a storm of rage and tears, X—— was the only one who would associate with him." ¹

How much the future of China stands to gain if we can raise up a few men like that ! It can be done if men and women to whom God has given the glory of education will determine that by their personal service at home or in China Chinese boys shall have, under God, the same chance. In other words, it depends on whether we accept the point of honour as binding for us.

I have just read Booker Washington's *Up from Slavery*. It is the autobiography of a good and great man told with classic simplicity and directness ; but it is an almost more wonderful revelation of another—it is to General Armstrong that Booker Washington looks back as the man who through the great Hampton Institute gave to himself and to other negro boys so magnificent a chance. He writes :—

"General Armstrong . . . was but a type of that Christlike body of men and women who went into the Negro schools at the end of the war by hundreds to assist in lifting up my race. The history of the world fails to show a higher, purer, and more unselfish class of men and women than those who found their way into those Negro schools." ²

It is all deserved ; yet doubtless there were many of Armstrong's acquaintances, and not a few of his friends, who called him a fool to sacrifice a useful career for "a lot of niggers." Now that

¹ Stanley V. Boxer, *L.M.S. Chronicle*, September 1917. ² p. 77.

the result is visible, the greatest man on earth might covet his reward. Just so to-day the average man roundly calls it folly to attempt the Christian education of races far off. "Above all why should cultivated people throw themselves away upon the ignorant and degraded?" Yet to-morrow even the average man will look back and praise them as he praises Armstrong now. But the final test will be the judgment of Him who bade men give to one of these little ones a cup of cold water.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- World Missionary Conference Report No. II. *Christian Education*. Oliphant. 3s. net.
 Booker Washington. *Up from Slavery*. Nelson. 1s. 3d. net.
 C. T. Loram. *The Education of the South African Native*. Longmans. 6s. 6d. net.
 Nelson Bitton. *The Regeneration of New China*. U.C.M.E. 1s. net.
 W. E. S. Holland. *The Goal of India*. U.C.M.E. 2s. 6d. net.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"To the Churches engaged in mission work must be given the greater measure of credit for placing systematically before the natives those higher standards of belief and conduct. . . . The Commission recommend full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelizing the heathen."—*Report of the South African Commission* (1903-5), Sections 288, 289.

"Their work has gone far beyond the preaching of the Gospel and such literary instruction as would enable their disciples to read the Bible. They have entered into the life of the people, have taught trades, encouraged thrift and industry, made efforts to teach methods of agriculture, induced them to build better houses and use furniture, and among the women have given instruction in house and laundry work and taught them simple industries. . . . The missionary stands to the native for religion, education; for all help he may get to make

his life cleaner, more moral. . . .”—MAURICE EVANS, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, p. 97.

“Missionaries, like other people, make mistakes. Natives have often been educated on unsound lines. But, instead of the missionaries and teachers being the subjects of reprobation by their South African fellow-whites, they, in fact, should be regarded as the people who have saved the situation, because they are the people who have taken far the most trouble, and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something good.”—LORD SELBORNE, Address before the University of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 11.

“The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts, and their sober, disciplined and busy lives. . . . We find that among Indian Christians no less than 25 per cent. are returned as literate, while for the total population of the State the percentage is only 6. . . . The success in gaining converts is not now so marked as the spread of a knowledge of Christian tenets and standards of morality.”—*Hindu Census SUPERINTENDENT of Mysore, Indian Census Report, 1911*, p. 138.

“And how much do we owe to Christian missionaries? We are indebted to them for the first start in the race of intellectual emancipation. . . . Our very Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Prarthna Samaj [Reformed Religious Societies] are the offshoots in one sense of this beneficent agency. . . . At a time when doubt and distrust are taking the place of reasoned enquiry among the younger generation of India, I feel bound to acknowledge . . . the benefits I have derived from contact with the spirit of Christianity. But for that holy contact, I could scarcely have grown into the staunch and sincere Zoroastrian that I am. . . .”—B. M. MALABARI, Parsi Reformer and Editor. Quoted in MOULTON, *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 252.

“ . . . I was a member of the Taluq Board and of the District Board—Local Government Boards having with other functions the care of elementary education. My experience was that it was most difficult to secure any adequate allotment for that purpose and occasionally I would hear of a Brahman member asking what these donkeys wanted with education anyhow. . . . At an educational conference in Madras I was asked to read a paper on ‘Education and the Pariah.’ At the close of the paper a Brahman principal of a Hindu High School demanded, with much warmth, to know by whose authority this subject had

been admitted to the programme, as everyone must know that the whole subject was an offence to his caste. The speaker undoubtedly voiced correctly the Brahman attitude toward any and every effort to improve the condition of the lower classes.”
—WILLIAM GOUDIE, *Methodist Recorder*, July 18, 1918.

“ . . . While I was making this Christmas visit [a week of general holiday and excess] I met an old coloured man who was one of the numerous local preachers, who tried to convince me, from the experience Adam had in the Garden of Eden, that God had cursed all labour, and that . . . it was a sin for any man to work. He seemed at that time to be supremely happy, because he was living, as he expressed it, through one week that was free from sin.

“ ‘O Lawd de cotton am so grassy, de work am so hard and the sun am so hot, dat I b’lieve dis darkie am called to preach.’ ”
—BOOKER WASHINGTON, *Up from Slavery*, pp. 160 and 161.

“The Christian Librarian of a Public City Library told me lately that there is a fairly good supply of healthy secular reading for boys and little girls now, and more and more is being produced (far more than for women and older girls). . . . On the other hand there is no doubt that boys and girls often get hold of very poisonous stuff, and that cinematographs are cultivating a morbid taste for exciting fiction. Here is an opportunity which should surely not be lost. . . . At present, the majority of novel-reading women and girls and lower class men buy or borrow cheap Japanese romances, but the more educated ones read also translations of realistic, pessimistic, French, Russian and other foreign novels, with disastrous consequences.”—MISS A. C. BOSANQUET in *The Japan Evangelist*, May 1917.

CHAPTER IV

THE REDEMPTION OF THE IDEA OF SEX

That radical disease, an imperfect ideal of woman, of which, more than of anything else, ancient civilization perished."

(VERRALL, *Euripides the Rationalist*.)

THE foundation of all society is the family. All human life begins with the child. Fatherhood and motherhood are the pillars of the state, but fatherhood and motherhood are not likely to reach any sort of ideal standard in a society where the daily relations between the sexes are not marked by mutual respect and honour. Therefore as we study social problems and the Christian attitude to them we find ourselves driven to face the fact of sex; its present all-too-frequent degradation, and the strength and beauty which it may, and ought to, represent to generations yet unborn.

In such a chapter we shall have to handle certain unpleasant facts, just as a doctor may sometimes have to open and examine offensive sores. But just as modern doctors are more concerned to stimulate health than to palliate disease, so we shall try throughout to keep clear and radiant before us the picture of a society where men and women go hand in hand as comrades up the stony, risky, lovely road of life, where every marriage is made in heaven and where the family on earth is no unworthy illustration of the greatest Fatherhood of all.¹

¹ Ephesians iii. 15.

We who try to follow Jesus ought to be peculiarly able to retain before our eyes the positive ideal of passionate, joyful purity. That was His ideal. There is nothing negative about Him. Negative commands He did give, truly, but always to serve a positive object ; if men were to cut off hands or to pluck out eyes, it was that they might enter into life, and with Jesus " life " was a word full of wide spaces and the sunlight of hope. In marriage as He conceived it, husband and wife acknowledged a bond above anything that could come from other human kinship. The Twelve—men all of them—He called His friends ; and though women in such an era could scarcely have borne the burden of apostolate, they were His friends no less than the Apostles. When we have lifted our view of sex relations, of motherhood and fatherhood, to the loftiest height of which our thought is capable, we shall find that we are only beginning to enter into our Master's mind.

I

In non-Christian lands the corruptions of sex are so plain and so open that no one who is in any contact with native life can ignore them. In parts of Papua and of the Congo area, for instance, the boys live in " bachelor houses " and the unmarried girls are encouraged to go to them with the completest licence. Coillard and his wife at one point found that of three Barotsi girls on whom they had centred high hopes and affection, two had to be turned out of their house for the promiscuous immorality characteristic of the country.¹

¹ *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p. 413.

"We are living," he says "in the midst of Sodom. The notion of sin does not as yet exist."

In India again there is a law against obscene representations, but it has a loophole, of which full advantage is taken, excepting any such representation "on or in any temple, or on any car used for the conveyance of idols or kept or used for any religious purpose."¹ Plato in the fourth century B.C. would have suppressed unseemly stories of the Greek gods, but the stories of the gods current in India to-day, and most popular with the people, are as bad as anything in Plato's time. If the gods are so represented what are the chances of purity in the worshipper? The wonder is that "they that worship them" are not more often "like unto them."

Apart from special temptations, incentives to evil are always provided by the urging, thrusting rebellion of the sex spirit. Where education is scant and the mind has little with which to occupy itself, sex consciousness may well become something like a mental disease. It is only rivalled as a permanent interest by the pressing questions of food and material gain. As we shall see later this is especially true of those races which seclude their women, but from experience in the West we shall have small difficulty in understanding that in almost all countries sex is, like the Bottle Imp, a terrific power if it once gets loose. No missionary can live long in a non-Christian country without finding that sex uncleanness lies in the immediate background of much native life. To be barely honest we must admit that in Europe and North America there are to be found evils of

¹ *Indian Penal Code*, 292. A missionary in a small town recently appealed against the carvings on a temple car, and was referred to this section by the local authorities.

precisely the same quality. But there they are kept at a distance from the normal organization of decent society. In non-Christian countries the place occupied by sex corruption reminds us of the way in which our soldiers in Northern France complained of the manure heaps pouring out their nasty odours at the very door of the farm kitchen. Where Christianity has even a partial influence, the manure heap may still be there, but between it and the living room there is an open healthy interval. If a man wants filth, he can go to it, but there is plenty of cleaner air which he may breathe in surroundings cleansed by the Spirit of Christ. That is the difference and, much as we are ashamed of Western vice, it is not a small one.

One of the commonest causes of sex evil is the view of woman as a chattel. In some countries the conception of marriage is that of simple ownership; the ordinary terms used are clear proof that the wife belongs to the husband like any animal of his herd. Wherever society is dominated by physical force, women are at a disadvantage. For instance, the domestic slavery of China affects girls but not boys. Polyandry, the relation of one woman to many husbands, has disappeared almost everywhere because men would not tolerate it, but polygamy, the possession of several wives by one man, is only slowly yielding to Western public opinion. Concubinage is still general in wealthy families in China and to a less degree in Japan. The normal result of polygamy, even in the most beautifully organized society, is the torture of women and the debasing of men. The usual justification alleged is the desire for children.

"Among the Japanese as among the Chinese the continuance of the family was considered to be a matter of more concern than the immortal existence of individual spirits. . . . For the

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sake of getting posterity to prevent the family line from becoming extinct, concubinage has been considered morally legitimate in China and Japan.”¹

To bear children, that is to say, is the main function of woman, and if she does not fulfil it, her life is made one long misery.

Too often religion helps to enslave woman. In many primitive tribes, at the initiation of the young men or important witch-doctorings, the women are fenced away in their houses and incur the most fearful penalties if they come out. In his liturgy the Jew still gives praise to God that he was not born a woman. In Palestine the woman accounts for all her pain by the lament, “I am a woman, *it is my fate*”; while the harshness often meted out to widows in India is justified by the doctrine of *Karma*, the requital for evil done in an earlier existence; the wife’s wickedness in some former birth must be the cause of her husband’s death.²

We shall not be so foolish as to think that in non-Christian lands women are without power. History shows plainly that they have counted immensely in the national, as in the domestic, life of every people. On the one hand, indeed, many of the evils of which we have to speak would have been impossible without their acquiescence; their cruelty to their sisters is proverbial, and they frequently put up the strongest opposition to sex reform. On the other hand, women of the more progressive type have fought the battle of mercy and humanity at every stage of civilization.

The consequence, however, of any tyranny over woman is that she is compelled to exercise her

¹ Harada, *Faith of Japan* (Macmillan), pp. 153-4.

² See also the quotation from the Bhagavad Gita in Holland, *The Goal of India*, p. 103.

influence by subterranean methods. In countries where they are oppressed women acquire a peculiar expertness in every sort of intrigue, and their skill is so often used for evil that the result is taken to excuse the tyranny which drove them to it. We have to give every woman the chance to play her part openly, as God may bid her and with no less freedom than if she had been a man. That liberty alone would remove much of the impurity we have had in mind.

Nor must it be forgotten that many of the grossnesses of native life are fossilized remnants of provisions that once had their use. Some of the ceremonies at the initiation of boys and girls to manhood and womanhood are harmless and indeed educational, others are vile to a degree ; but the original purpose of either type was moral according to the lights of the day. There are still heathen laws which in certain circumstances enforce a fine chastity and which Christianity ought to match by its definite teaching and spiritual power. Yet the mass of these enactments have ceased to fit the present developments of the peoples. They now retard their advance towards purity, even when they have not been perverted into animal foulness. Christianity must provide substitutes which meet the conditions of to-day and fulfil the purpose of sex education in an atmosphere of awe, beauty and family affection. Sex must be glorified in Christ.

II

It is illuminating to find that essential immorality is worst where there is most attempt to prevent it by the segregation of the sexes.

There is no greater curse to a race than the seclusion of women and the system of early marriage which always tends to accompany it. The seclusion of women is characteristic of the countries affected by Islam, and inasmuch as its rigidity under other creeds varies with the proximity of Moslem influence, it may be put down largely to the impact of Islam. We thus trace the direct operation of religion—the disciples bear their prophet's stamp. D. B. Macdonald, after vindicating Mohammed's right to be regarded as a prophet and no impostor, goes on to speak of the last terrible ten years of Mohammed's life :—

"In those last years he [Mohammed] forged the awful machinery of divine inspiration to serve his own ignoble and selfish purposes. How he passed over, at last, into that turpitude is a problem . . . but the moral declension, the slope into the abyss of evil, down which he so calmly walked in those ten years, that can never be explained away."¹

It was, unfortunately, not in those years alone that Mohammed tarnished his revelation with false and unworthy doctrines of sex. The promise of sensual rewards in heaven—of those beautiful *houris* who appear so often in the incitements to persevere—began long before the period of conspicuous moral decay. The total result has been to fill the system of Islam with unhealthy sex associations. W. H. T. Gairdner, in *The Reproach of Islam*, finds one cause for seclusion in the ease of divorce. Any woman, though married already, was a potential wife for any other man, if she could only induce her husband to divorce her. The husband countered this danger by trying to prevent any other man from seeing her at all.

¹ *Aspects of Islam*, pp. 72-4.

Be that as it may, the thought of men in regard to women was unclean. It followed that when the Moslems conquered a country, the inhabitants, in face of the evil eye of the conqueror, were forced to keep their women out of the way. Next, the standards of the ruling court gradually infected the conquered race till it did from choice what it had begun to do in self-protection. The poor could not afford to guard their women, and seclusion thus became associated with the higher ranks. The virus spread widely and over large parts of Asia it became the sign of respectability to seclude women—a certificate, as it were, that they need not go out to earn their bread. There is nothing much harder to stand against than the imputation that a fashion is unbecoming or immodest, especially where women are in question. To-day the Hindus of North India practise seclusion nearly as strictly as do the Mohammedans. That seclusion is unnecessary to protect morality is shown by the contrast of the South, where Brahman and other high-caste women walk unveiled and modest through the public streets.

The lower classes could not follow the Moslem fashion. All the family had to work in the fields, which was incompatible with veils and curtains. The aboriginal tribes, also, maintained their more natural customs. But to-day I know of districts where, as the Hindu-Moslem influence filters in, it becomes a sign of social standing to seclude the women. Could anything be more pathetically retrograde? And if Christianity had got there first, it would not have been.

What seclusion means it is impossible to picture here. All should read Chapter IV. by Mrs Urquhart in *The Goal of India*. The diseases of body and of spirit directly due to seclusion,

the ignorance, the emotionalism and the dumb conservatism of the *purdah* are known only to those who have the right to go behind it—women doctors and missionaries. During the winter of 1910-11 plague ran through North India and when the statistics were published, it was found that the deaths among women were 22·5 per cent more numerous than those among men.¹ The infection was carried by rats, that is, it was a house infection. The men were out at work for most of the day and could easily leave their houses for a short visit, but the women, shut up in the zenanas, were not only exposed to infection for all the twenty-four hours of any normal day, but were not allowed to escape into the plague camps until danger had become extreme. That death-rate is a parable of the disease which seclusion brings upon personality itself.

One more point—seclusion is one of the great obstacles to real friendship between the races. At ordinary receptions in North India where Europeans meet Indians, there will be present European men with their women, but of Hindus and Moslems only men. This is tolerable as long as the intercourse is formal, and no further. If the Indian judges that no other man can look at his wife without unworthy thoughts, the European draws the inference, surely with some reason, that the Indian may harbour similar thoughts towards the European women he meets. Men of such principles, he argues, are not men to be invited to the intimacy of the European home. Race antagonism is thus enhanced in a sphere where race feeling is always sensitive, the treatment of women. Full reconciliation will only come when

¹ Men, 220,314; women, 270,061. See Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner of the U.P. for 1910-11.

women are as free in India as in the West to help the races to understand each other.

III

As I have said, seclusion goes hand in hand with early marriage; at least it is based on a similar theory of sex relations. A girl's own purity and the power of her parents to protect her are rated so low that it is deemed wiser to deliver her into the hands of her husband and his family, that they may see that no disaster shall damage what is regarded as a piece of property rather than a human life. The results in the agony of little girls could be told by any of the women doctors in India. One quotation Mrs Urquhart makes from Mrs Besant is peculiarly convincing.¹

Perhaps I may add a memory of my own which will take long to fade. In a small town in India we met a Hindu doctor of fine character and advanced views. The friend in whose house we were guests told us the sad story of his eldest daughter. Being a conscientious reformer, the father had determined that his children should not be married prematurely, but as the girl reached the customary age for betrothal, he saw clearly that if she was to marry—as all Indian girls must, except the Europeanized or the immoral—there was no time to lose in coming to some agreement with the parents of a suitable youth. The sub-caste was very small within which marriage was legitimate, and further, his own reforming opinions stood in his daughter's light. At last a marriage was arranged with the definite understanding that it should be in fact a mere betrothal, and that the

¹ *The Goal of India*, p. 111.

girl should not go to her husband till she was really old enough to be a wife. The wedding was scarcely over when the boy's parents brushed aside the understanding and compelled the girl to go to her legal possessor. Before she was fourteen, she was a mother. My friend, meeting her doctor father, was minded to express his opinion of such a want of principle, but his approach to the subject threw the poor man into a paroxysm of shame and grief so obviously sincere that there was plainly nothing to say. The girl bride was scarcely more a victim than he. Now the caste system which claims to regulate and restrict marriage is directly responsible for such a situation. Yet the caste system is one of the most vital portions of the daily religion of the Hindus.

An incidental result of early marriage, even when it amounts to a contract made in anticipation of union after some years, is the desolation of young Indian widowhood. In a country with as high a death-rate as that of India, the law of averages insures that by the death of their little partners-to-be some 22,000 girls of nursery age are widowed every year.¹

The young widow in too many cases becomes a drudge, and not seldom is condemned to an immoral life inside or outside the family. But of the misery of the widows enough has been already written. It concerns us more to realize that early marriage tends to make of them a class of women without rights in, or duties to, the community, and that this involves a large waste of personality. India loses the service of single women, so valuable in Western life, for though it manufactures young widows in numbers out of all proportion, the stupid

¹ *Indian Census*, 1911.

system spurns the contribution they should make to common life.

Again, the tragedy falls upon the too early married boy as on the girl. Premature marriage saps his manhood,—here surely we have another explanation of the fact that India is governed by foreigners—and he may easily be tied to a wife who can never share his real interests.

Yet the tragedy, great as it often is, is not by any means the worst service that early marriage does to India. Do not let us think that the life of the Eastern woman is all sorrow. Behind the sombre folds of the zenana curtain there is fellowship between husband and wife, though it may be bought at the price of a stunted personality for man and woman alike. Thank God, even under bad conditions tragedy is not inevitable and in many Indian homes there is a wonderful deal of happy family life. Only there might be so much more, if sex were rightly viewed. But worse than possible tragedy, worse than inevitable waste, is the fouling of the general imagination in all affairs of sex. The cause of early marriage, as of seclusion, is the distrust of the power of God's creatures to be pure. The method chosen is the surest guarantee that they shall justify that distrust, for it attaches impurity to every thought connected with the other sex.

That false view of woman springs from high up in the uplands of India's past. Govinda Das¹ quotes the law-book of Manu to the effect that "one is not to sit alone with his own mother, and sister and daughter." Could the defilement of thought be carried further in the most decadent coteries of European vice? Yet Manu is the

¹ *Hinduism and India* (Theosophical Society, Benares), p. 347. The passage is Manu II. 215.

foundation of all Hindu law and the standard of morality.

IV

The critic will not charge Christian missions with neglecting such a situation, however indifferent he may imagine them in regard to other social problems. No Church can be built on an unhealthy view of sex. The Christian missionary, as soon as he acquires influence, uses it to establish a new estimate. He, or better she, must go slowly in detail; where by their customs peoples have been morally enervated, it is dangerous to bring them too suddenly into the strong wind of liberty, even though it "bloweth healthily thy sieknesses to heal." To give to Indian women the broad freedom of the West would at first produce such a crop of disasters as to discredit reform. Even in our country we shall need chaperonage, most wooden-headed of devices, till the eyes of men and women are opened to the nature with which they have to deal and to all the implications of the glorious message that sex is a holy thing. But in every Christian community woman takes a new place and, as Christ's standard conquers, the unclean thought is lost in mutual respect and service. Only one stage beyond savagery men begin to ask their wives to eat with and not after them. They walk by their side and share their burdens. Marriage throughout becomes more equal. Polygamy, that curse of womankind, is abolished for all the future, though in some cases the man already possessing two wives is not obliged to turn the second away when he receives baptism.

Even where feminine seclusion is the fashion, Christian women move about in public with an



CHINESE BOY SCOUTS.

[Photo, Bernard Upward.]

"Happy boys breathing the free life that boyhood ought to bring." (See page 79.)

untrammelled naturalness which spreads more widely every year.¹ Uncleanness is not all swept away,—how should it be with so much vileness about them, and who are we to throw stones at that particular pane?—but little by little one comes to depend on the Christian home. There you will not hear the foul language so general among the pagan villagers, and there women and men not married to one another can meet with a freedom approaching that of the West. In many countries Christian higher schools and Training Colleges are the main source of supply for the women teachers who will be in such request in the near future. Those teachers, remember, regard the relation between men and women with eyes purified by Christianity, and teach their pupils accordingly. As doctors and servants of the public weal Christian women play a part far beyond what would be expected from the size of the Christian community. To take only a few, one thinks of such distinguished names as the Sorabji family, Miss Kheroth Bose, Miss Lilavati Singh, Miss Ume Tsuda of Japan, and Dr Mary Stone of China. Pandita Ramabai, with her widows' home near Poona, shows what non-Christian India loses in scorning the help of its widows. In other religions such women would be

¹ The following contrast between the Moslem and the Armenian quarters of Isfahan is very suggestive: "The hoys began to shout, 'a Feringhi woman! a Nazarene woman!' and then to call bad names; then men began to make up fiendish laughs, and the howls and outcries gathered strength as I went on . . . spitting being quite common. . . . Near the Julfa gate the uproar died away, and once through the gate there was peace. A bad road leads to a handsome hridge. . . . At once on crossing the hridge there was a change. Ruddy, cheery-looking, unveiled women . . . moved freely about. . . . There was the fresher, purer air of Christianity, however debased and corrupted." (Mrs Isabella Bird Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, pp. 244-5.)

portents. In Christianity they represent merely the most highly developed among many sisters, great and humble, who serve their people and the Kingdom of God.

By this time, too, there is a tide of public opinion flowing strongly in the more enlightened non-Christian channels. From the early days of contact with the West a few reformers have had their finger on the ignorance and degradation of women as a notable cause of the backwardness of the race. That in itself represents the secondary power of Christianity which has moulded all our Western standards. But of recent years that general Western influence has been reinforced by the direct teaching of missionaries. It would not always be admitted that this was true, but there can be no doubt that the reform movements of to-day have received great impetus from the advice and criticism of missionaries and particularly from the example of the Church in the land in question. The position of the Christian lady (of whatever class) in the Christian home inevitably makes a deep impression on those of her fellow-countrymen who come into contact with her. Those who have had the honour of her acquaintance and her hospitality well know that it must be so. But be the cause what it may, the main fact is that the movement to emancipate women is growing with increasing speed and that in the great Eastern civilizations there are many reformers who make no profession of Christianity. Such men and women are more and more co-operating with Christians in concerted plans for social betterment. The agitations against foot-binding in China, and for widow remarriage in India, together with the new conviction of the right of girls to education, owe very much to non-

Christians. And if in certain cases the European observer feels that there is sometimes more talk than action, the Indian or Chinese leader is no less shrewd. He will see increasingly that to advocate reform is one thing—quite another to have the power to carry it out. To whom can he look? Old conditions are past or passing. As science makes its way, the old gods die.

Any day in an English town, near a girls' school, a bevy of girls may be seen, pouring out from the school gateway with swinging skirts and free young limbs, talk and laughter not less free, and hockey sticks or tennis racquets in their hands. For them "life is a joke that's just begun." A man's heart leaps when he returns to England from the East and sees the well-known sight again, for in India, Persia or Egypt girls like these would be shut up, prematurely grave, knowing too much of sex on its seamy side, and probably married. There are few contrasts that illustrate so clearly the two ideals of womanhood. It is a blessed thought that in missionary schools throughout the world, women who have not forgotten the gladness of youth, even though their hair is turning grey, give to happy girlhood as much of the same glad expansion as can be adapted to the conditions of the people, and give it in the name of Christ.

Emancipation is coming. But what kind of emancipation, and will it be safe without an ideal that can produce purity? The illustration of the cinema on page 9, showing us what must be happening in many lands, draws much of its point from the fact that it proves how easily freedom may be misapplied. A few years ago a Chinese girl visited London. She was thrown almost exclusively into the company of suffragettes. When she went back to China, she adopted the

same free public life. She stood smoking in the doorway or the street for all to see. The inference drawn by the ordinary Chinese of her city was that she had cut loose from every moral restraint. Perhaps the inference in itself would not greatly matter; the real trouble is that a bad name so often throws the victim into company where she may speedily deserve it.

Even in the Christian community some hard thinking is needed before the Master's teaching is applied in the wisest way. Not long ago an Indian friend confessed: "The fact is, we Indian Christians don't know where we are in these matters." (This is quite consistent with an enormous advance in comparison with Hinduism.) Will men and women return to the old rigidities because, even at so unclean a price, they do offer a protection not found in the new customs of the secular West? Christian missions and the Christians employed in non-missionary systems of education will have much to say to this. The number already reached by Christian influence is as nothing to those left without any principle of sex to steer them through those stormy waters where two tides, the new and the old, raise their crests in turbulent dispute. For women of love and sympathy, and for men no less, there waits the task—to stand by and assist the Christian groups of every land as they try to work out their own salvation in regard to the relations between men and women. We have before us Christ's ideal. If it be accepted, what burdens of misery will be lifted off, what a range of beauty opens up in every home! The vision may be translated into reality. By God's grace sex may be redeemed.

V

Further, we ought not to forget the whole problem of organized vice. In South India little girls are "married to the god"—that is, dedicated to be prostitutes in his temple. It is this which puts such fire into Miss Wilson Carmichael's books, for she is called to rescue a number—alas, too small a number—of these children from their doom. In Shanghai the immoral houses, if they do bad business for a season, will call in the Taoist priests to have a service for them. One day as, after selling Gospels, we walked away from a little market near Benares, a Mohammedan joined us and, buying a Gospel, thanked us warmly for the service we were doing in teaching the unity of God. He turned into a by-path shortly, and my Indian friends explained to me that he was the trainer and teacher of music to Nautch girls, of whom the vast mass are immoral by profession. In these and many such cases religion tolerates or even abets the evil.

But the clearest instance of organized vice is found in Japan, where are definite quarters, laid out by Government for the purpose, in which immoral women ply their trade. Too often these are right up against the main student centres.¹ What is so striking in Japan is the complete publicity of it all. A similar connection with vice is found in the West; Germany, France, and other European countries do not provide quarters, but they do arrange for regulation and examination of the women with the idea of preventing disease. All that this means of degradation to men, women and society at large it is impossible here to describe.

¹ The same applies to other parts of the East, *e.g.* Calcutta and Rangoon, except that there Government is not positively responsible.

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The important point is that the system is condemned by the best medical authorities, even in the countries which have carried it out with the greatest care and completeness.

Nor unfortunately are the hands of Britain clean. From 1866 the Contagious Diseases Acts, which regulated prostitution, were in force in British garrison towns, and these Acts were only repealed in 1883 after the heroic agitation of a group of men and women led by Josephine Butler. In India the medical inspection of women for the troops, though abolished by a statute of 1895, was revived two years later on a basis ostensibly voluntary but achieving exactly the same result and producing the same compulsion. The year 1918 brought the good news that the Commander-in-Chief in India had forbidden the continuance of these official provisions for vice. But the thing has come nearer home. In the European war our British military authorities, often with a deep loathing, have accepted and helped to work the system in France and Germany.¹

I do not know that anything has so clearly forced upon my imagination the horror it must involve as the sight of English boys standing sentry in such quarters *to keep order*. In 1911 I had seen a young sentry stationed outside the large house for native prostitutes in Lucknow. In 1919 I found a guard of half a dozen of our boys in a little lane only a stone's throw from Cologne Cathedral, and, alas, crowded with soldiers who had come for immoral purposes. The men of the guard complained bitterly of their task. Let the imagination dwell for a little on what we were asking those boys to do for us. It is not good, even for the purest, to be thinking constantly of

¹ See also Defence of the Realm Act, 40D.

the pathology of vice : what right have we to force men to stand for hours at a time and breathe the foetid atmosphere of such a moral cesspool ? What right have we to demand from our young doctors that they shall take part in a system so degrading as that of the examination of women—and what of the women themselves—souls for whom Christ died ?

Now unregulated vice is a ghastly thing, regarded by itself as horrible as vice under regulation. But regulated vice is authorized and as it were provided. Men say : “ Impurity is inevitable and indeed necessary—if it were not, the Government would not furnish us with these safeguards against its consequences.” And so many a man falls who would keep away from evil as long as it did not seem to be thrust upon him. For his fall the nation—we, the electors—we, the makers of public opinion—are responsible.

Now these things have to be said here for two reasons. The first is that Indians and Chinese have seen such doings in France and elsewhere, just as Indian students have seen the unlicensed immorality of London, and they have drawn their own conclusions. When our missionaries attempt to improve the ideals of sex in the East, these facts will be thrown in their teeth. From the merely national point of view it is disastrous, for, East as West, men revere purity, even when they do not attain to it, and they look down on vice. The second reason is that we cannot honestly mention the sexual sins of the nations of the East, unless we are prepared to confess our own.

For things really are worse in the East. Perhaps the forces of vice are not greater—but the forces of purity are weaker, and true ideals of sex are more rare. There are castes in India where

every girl baby is sure to grow up into a prostitute. The blame of Japan is the flaunting, unashamed advertisement she gives to the system. Respectable newspapers deal with the trade, with its prosperity, its business openings and the earnings of the women, just as, for instance, the women's column of a British newspaper might deal with the openings for cooks or typists. Worst of all, as will be proved by one of the quotations at the end of this chapter, the sacrifice of a girl's honour is decked out with false sentiment, and anyone may well believe that for the sake of others, brothers for instance or parents in financial distress, the act is praiseworthy and even noble.

The better elements in Japan, above all the Christians, are fighting this systematized degradation of women, and in consequence of recent years there have been many brave struggles. A victory was won when, in 1915, at the Coronation ceremonies of the present Emperor, the *geisha* (dancing girls and usually immoral) were only allowed to take part in the processions on one out of the fourteen days of the celebrations, and even on that day were forbidden to pass within the royal enclosure.¹ The Women's Christian Temperance Union did much to secure this limitation. That Union, too, is doing all it can to help individuals to escape from their slavery, but there are many obstacles in the way. The greatest battle, however, waged round the attempt begun in 1916 to establish a new licensed quarter in Tobita, Osaka, right in the centre of nine Middle-Schools. The ostensible object was to replace two out of five similar areas burnt out a few years before. The campaign for and against aroused world-wide attention, and leading Japanese papers

¹ *Women's Herald*, December 1915.

gave splendid support to the Christian and non-Christian Japanese and the missionaries who were resisting this scheme.¹

It is not fanciful to trace Japanese endorsement of such a system to the extreme doctrine that the woman is merely a tool, first of the State, and then of the family. Some few years ago, even so intelligent a man as Count Okuma could tell the members of a Woman's College :

" Nothing is so injurious to the proper regulation of a woman's life as the notion that she should have an ideal of her own . . . you should not accept Western views in this matter. . . . In the West the husband and wife are the social unit, in Japan father and son constitute the family unit and the family is the unit of society. It is an idle fancy to imagine that a marriage constitutes a family. Under the prevailing custom in Japan this is impossible, and the decrees of that custom, *whether bad or good*, are to be accepted, *especially by our women*. A woman should not in marriage pursue any ideal contrary to the will of her parents and of the parents of her husband."²

If women are so regarded and so regard themselves, immoral results are sure to follow. The quotations from Gulick on page 109 are very significant, for they show that men turn to the immoral woman simply because the wife, dulled and repressed by the Japanese theory of the inferiority of woman, is no fit comrade for an active-minded man. Genuine morality can only be founded on womanhood glorified.

Even from a selfish point of view we must face these problems, for, remember, vice is international. (There is, of course, much evidence of the international organization of the White Slave Traffic.) That laxities are possible abroad is used at home as an excuse for licence or for attempts to

¹ *Japan Evangelist*, June 1916.

² *Japan Evangelist*, Nov. 1917. The italics are mine.—F. L.

avoid the physical results of a double moral standard. Because the moral tone of India, Africa, or South America is low, certain young Englishmen, especially the lonely, keep native women in their houses, whom, of course, they turn adrift when they come home to seek a white mate. Such a connection can scarcely be the anteroom to a marriage made in heaven, and a man with such a past, however restrained thereafter, can do little to raise the tone of the society where his married life is lived. As the world will have increasing cause to understand, we are all members one of another. Public and personal purity go hand in hand.

The marriage of two souls "in Christ" is a very glorious thing. A true family, with father and mother teaching the love of God to their children by action rather than by speech, is the spring of service to the society around. Its boys and girls grow up into that glad loyalty to one another that nothing else can give. Just as the corruption of the sex relation seems often the foulest of iniquities, so the ideal union is, next to communion with God Himself, the most wonderful thing that men and women can know. We have to make that union possible for every section of society; married or unmarried, all have their part to play. We have to train the young for this great and lovely journey that lies before them. We have to do these things for all nations—if we try to do them for Britain alone, we shall fail. In the process we must know the evil, that we may fight it. But from the evil we shall always turn our thoughts away to God, to our Master's ideal for man, to the new womanhood He created in His Church, and to the future of holy marriage which opens like a bloom in spring. An imperfect ideal of woman was the

disease of which ancient civilization perished. What an opportunity is offered us to pour a glowing, throbbing health into the civilization of to-day!

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- W. E. S. Holland. *The Goal of India*. U.C.M.E. 2s. 6d. net.
 W. H. T. Gairdner. *The Reproach of Islam*. U.C.M.E. (Out of print but obtainable from libraries.)
 S. L. Gulick. *Working Women of Japan*. Missionary Education Movement, New York. (Obtainable from U.C.M.E. 2s. 6d.)
 M. Burton. *Women Workers of the Orient*. Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, U.S.A. (Obtainable from U.C.M.E. 1s. 9d.)
 D. B. Macdonald. *Aspects of Islam*. Macmillan. 6s. 6d. net.
 Various Writers. *Some Aspects of the Women's Movement*. Student Christian Movement. 1s. 6d. net.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"The life of a Persian woman, taken as a whole, cannot be considered a happy one. The seclusion of their lives, with so little outside interest, encourages hysteria and all sorts of nervous complaints. . . . Certainly the yoke of Mohammedanism presses heavily on the Persian woman, and, through her, on the entire race, for how can a nation make real progress if the mothers of its men are kept in bondage and ignorance? . . . Among Persian women . . . a latent discontent . . . was fanned into life by the tremendous contrast between the unfettered existence of an Englishwoman and their own. It was pathetic to be urged not to marry a Persian! 'Oh *Khanum*' (Lady), a woman would say, 'my husband makes me "eat" much sorrow. If his *pilau* or sherbet is not to his liking he may beat me, and I know that if I had an illness that made me ugly he would divorce me on the spot. And when I get old he will treat me worse than a servant.' All this the writer was forced to believe when a Persian boasted to her that his wife trembled in his presence to such an extent that she could not swallow a mouthful of food!"—ELLA C. SYKES, *Persia and its People*, pp. 208-9.

"Just one or two remarks as to what these false faiths do. They degrade women with an infinite degradation. I have lived in zenanas and harems, and have seen the daily life of the secluded women, and I can speak from bitter experience of what their lives are—the intellect dwarfed, so that the woman

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of 20 or 30 is more like a child of eight intellectually; while all the worst passions of human nature are stimulated and developed in a fearful degree; jealousy, envy, murderous hate, intrigue, running to such an extent that in some countries I have hardly been in a women's house or near a women's tent without being asked for drugs with which to disfigure the favourite wife, to take away her life, or the life of [her] infant son. This request has been made to me nearly two hundred times."—Mrs BISHOP, 1893. Quoted from STOOK, *A Short Handbook of Missions*, p. 47.

"In the most widely read of the Hindu sacred books woman is described as 'born of sin'—that is, born as a woman because of sin in a previous birth. Her sex, therefore, is a mark of divine disfavour and a spiritual handicap. To reach equality with man she must be born again as a man. . . . The laws of Manu, the Hindu code, say plainly, 'Let her be in subjection to her sons when her husband is dead; let a woman never enjoy independence.' . . . No age of chivalry has yet dawned. Woman, the mother, is honoured in the home but jostled in the market place, and even within the home the barren woman, the widow, and the unmated have but little honour. The unmarried virgin becomes unmarriageable and outcast. . . . Only in the professions of nursing, medicine and teaching do we find now a small proportion of unmarried women, drawn with almost no exceptions, from the reformed *samajes* and the Christian community. 'I see,' said a shrewd old Scotch spinster on a visit to India, 'that the old maid is a purely Christian institution.'"—M. M. URQUHART, *Challenge*, Nov. 22, 1918.

" . . . Dubois¹ mentions . . . that . . . women dishonoured by the Guru [spiritual guide] . . . became wives of gods and served in the temple, till they became old and lost their attraction. In Dubois' time the girls were married at the age of five, seven, or at the utmost, when they were nine years old. Widows, of course, were not allowed to marry in the higher castes, and even the Sudras followed the example. . . . As regards *Suttee*, it was the commonest occurrence to witness. . . . There were some 700 *Suttee* deaths in . . . 1817 in the Bengal Presidency alone. . . . Then again, . . . the position of the *Devadasees* [religious prostitutes] was recognized as so respectable that even private gentlemen visiting each other had to be accompanied by these attendants. . . . Gods and goddesses were carried in processions in those days, being made to mimic obscene gestures to one another. These processions may still be seen in various parts of Southern India, but robbed of much

¹ *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, written 1806.

of their obscene features. . . . It is quite possible that, being a missionary, he [Dubois] unconsciously exaggerated many points, and misunderstood many others . . . but making allowance for all these defects, the general correctness of his description, especially of the ignorant classes of society, can hardly be impugned. . . ."—MADHAVA GOVINDA RANADE, *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 201-3.

"The hotel and tea-house girl belongs rather to the geisha class, whose loud, harsh voices and artificial, coarse laughter are distinguishing characteristics. These classes, however, have an advantage enjoyed by no other women in Japan, namely: that of meeting large numbers of men of various occupations and interests. They thus become somewhat acquainted with the affairs of the outside world, so that it is possible to carry on some sort of a conversation with them—a thing practically impossible with the average young woman of Japan. . . ."

"Not until Japanese ladies can hold their own in social life will the vocation of the geisha be ended. . . ."

"These girls' high and normal schools, through the ability they give their graduates to converse with men on a basis of intellectual equality while retaining their modesty and personal character, are so transforming the reticent habits and unsocial customs of Japanese ladies that ere long scant room will be left for the old-time geisha. . . ."

". . . A fair comparison would seem to be that, whereas in the West the moral sense of a large proportion of the people is very strongly against the social evil and seeks to abolish it, in Japan the moral sense of the mass of the population acquiesces in the situation, so that the government and a vast majority of the influential people of the land unite to make the business safe, legal and remunerative. . . ." (pp. 59, 92, 124, 116).—SIDNEY L. GULICK, *Working Women of Japan*.

" . . . It may be said without hesitation that there are very few secular papers that are always pure enough to be read by everybody. . . . These papers constantly relate even quite minute details about the Social Evil—how it is prospering—what . . . girls are most popular, how much each girl earns . . . and commend this as the most prosperous business a woman in this day can engage in in Japan. In an article in the *Toyo Shimpo*, in December 1916, there was a short account of 'A Model Licensed Prostitute.' 'A young woman, just twenty-five years of age, was brought to Tokyo from Yamagata. . . . (Her name is given, her full address too.) She came three years ago. When she entered the Quarters she borrowed five hundred yen that she might send her brother to college, also to buy

medicine for her invalid father. She accomplished both these ends and in three years she was able to return the full amount of money and had saved fifty *yen* in the bank.' Many girls, with social conditions as they are in Japan to-day, on reading this, would be tempted to do the same. . . . The writer spreads over the disgraceful business a cloak of honour and it is not considered a disgrace, but rather an altruistic sacrifice. She has laid her virtue on the altar in order to get medicine for her invalid father and to educate her brother. What could be a nobler service? Many an ignorant, helpless, innocent, pretty girl is procured in this way . . . there are so few ways a girl can help financially."—*Japan Evangelist*, 1917.

" . . . A girl, under contract to be a servant, was horrified to find a life of shame opening before her, and so resolutely refused that she was sold again and again, and twice ran away and was captured, until, worn out and discouraged, she succumbed. Her mother appealed for help . . . and she was rescued. Knowing that this case is similar to thousands in this land, the W.C.T.U. decided to bring in a suit in court against the six owners who had possessed her in less than a year. . . . A Christian lawyer . . . had it in hand. The prosecuting attorney of the province has refused to admit the case, saying there are too many real sins to deal with, such as robbery, incendiarism, etc. The Chief Procurator of the Empire is loath to open up the subject because this servant girl's situation is so nearly universal that there would be no end of cases. He admits that there is a law made many years ago covering the case, but it has never been invoked."—*Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1918, pp. 238-9.

"But the Japanese have built houses of prostitution in Korea as they have built court-houses and railway stations. When they locate a colony they usually set apart a section for brothels. Handsome buildings are erected, provided with music and electric lights, and made as attractive as any places in the city."—A. J. BROWN, *The Mastery of the Far East*, p. 382.

CHAPTER V

THE VINEYARD AND NABOTH

“Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding
small,
Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds
He all.”

(LONGFELLOW.)

I

THE social problem would be so much simpler if the nations would only follow an ordered evolution from a primitive to a complicated state. Unfortunately, our wonderful system of communications has telescoped the centuries. In two generations from the stone age the savage is confronted with the hydraulic drill and the picture palace, or, to take a cross section of this little world, there are regions where tribes raw enough to carry us back almost to the dawn of human consciousness are found rubbing shoulders with men and women from the most elaborated civilizations. In nine cases out of ten the force responsible for this impatient and confusing acceleration of the time process is commerce, commerce large enough to take the globe in its sweep. Its product is like a huge collection of complicated machinery, with whirring belts and fly-wheels unfenced, through which move thousands of untaught children, fascinated, frightened, sometimes stupefied by the noise, sometimes caught and drawn in by the cogs.

A century ago China and Japan were closed. Australia had one or two tiny settlements, and Africa and America showed great empty areas upon their maps. This rapid penetration is all a matter of the last hundred years. It is no accident that the same era has seen the march of the Industrial Revolution. The ingenuity that transformed our means of travel worked out an entirely new method of production, which by demanding raw materials, by creating wealth, by making fresh demands to supply the desires begotten of wealth, has touched every part of the world with its magic finger.

It is impossible to measure the benefits commerce has bestowed; yet, in the pioneering stages especially, she was often represented by those who thought more of markets than of men. Restless adventurers were her precursors, beach-combers in distant ports, men scanning the horizon for ways to make their pile, and as long as the pile was probable, recking little of the means. Such it was that took drink to West Africa—cheap poisonous gin that can be sold to-day for 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per case of a dozen bottles!—and established the use of spirit so generally that the reformer is puzzled to know with what to replace it for currency and taxation. No one deplotes this more than the honest trader. He feels the damage that drink has done to normal trade as well as to morality. But the liquor is sold for all that. We have already mentioned the commercial and international organization of the White Slave Traffic; while, taking a larger sweep, and using Secretaries of State and Emperors for her bagmen, commerce thoughtfully provides armaments for the nations and with equal thoughtfulness ensures that these shall be set by the ears at well-judged intervals,

to keep their custom keen. Commerce may be a service or a curse.

It was inevitable that the most serious interference should concern the land. The West was overcrowded and, directly or indirectly, it was land for which the fortune seekers came. The natives were there already, cultivating the soil in wasteful ways or not at all,¹ grazing their cattle, perhaps, over immense areas, but showing strong dislike to the idea of eviction. Out of such elements quarrels were bound to arise;* here the whites and there the natives were the nominal aggressors, but in either case the white man's sway was spread.

In several instances it was disorders that led European governments to undertake the white man's burden they had hesitated to shoulder before. With notorious exceptions, such as the Congo, the coming of a civilized government guaranteed some measure of protection to the native holders of land. For this we are thankful and even proud, but it does not wipe out the fact that under many land laws it has been possible to alienate the land from the natives to a degree which is as unjust as it is impolitic. Sometimes a bargain was made with the natives on a Western system of sale quite beyond their comprehension, and they were cajoled into signing a document making away their rights. It might be the chief, as in the concession Herr Lippert gained from Lobengula, which formed the main pillar in the argument of the British South Africa Company, when in 1918 it sought to maintain its claim to every acre of Rhodesia; or

¹ In many countries the natives do not know, or want to know, the use of manures. They break up new gardens annually, leaving the old ground fallow for several years, after which it may bear again. The extravagance of such a method is obvious.

it might be the simple villagers, as any day in Papua,¹ with a heap of axes, cloth and beads spread enticingly before them, to induce them to sell the bush through which their fathers hunted ; or again it might be a Chinese official, tempted to transfer to a London syndicate mining rights in an area half as big as France. All such dealings are alike in that there is no real understanding of the bargain on the one side, and on the other no attempt to provide an equivalent for what the natives stand to lose. The " vendor " is bartering away one of the prime necessities of existence, not for himself only but for all posterity. To surrender land, except what is pure superfluity, is to surrender independent life and very likely life itself. In any attempt to amend the modern economic system, two remedies are obvious and would be possible to-morrow, one, the removal of the land from the realm of private interest, the other, the prevention of over-capitalization. Of the second we will speak later. The first, if adopted, would revolutionize the life of any country in the world, but it is trebly important in the case of immature races. Men of the great nations have training and education to combine, and, up to a point, to protect themselves. For the simpler peoples, when they lose access to the land, there is nothing but serfdom to the new owner, be it in farm or mine or factory. Should they be allowed to part with land to any holder but the State ?

We may admit at once that in the present need of the world the native is not justified in monopolizing land he cannot graze or cultivate.

¹ The Papuan Government attempts to prevent the more outrageous forms of swindling by always purchasing itself and leasing for a term of 99 years to the European holder, but even this cannot safeguard a people who have no conception of relative values.

It would be absurd to permit the 4,500,000 black and coloured people to have the sole use of the 473,000 square miles of the Union of South Africa. Yet equity can scarcely approve the division proposed¹ as between the white territory and the native reserves.

Such problems will not be solved by counting heads or weighing rights definable in Acts of Parliament. They turn on the spirit in which they are handled. Frankly, has the native been considered at all in ninety out of a hundred such transactions ?

II

We have taken Naboth's vineyard, but nowadays we do not kill Naboth ; Ahab needs his labour. Ahab does not rely on any system so inhuman as slavery. There is no need even for the modern analogue of slavery, compulsory cultivation of rubber or other produce for the benefit of a company which, as on the Congo a few years ago, would cut off hands or shoot, if it did not get the bulk required. The effect of slavery is attained once you acquire most of the land or greatly reduce native freehold. If a man has not land enough to supply him with food, he must seek labour from the capitalist. In South Africa it has been proposed to take advantage of this fact to augment the supply of recruits. Hitherto high wages have drawn enough natives to the mines at Kimberley and on the Rand, but it is now said to be more difficult to secure the number necessary and some capitalists would coerce them by the confiscation of their land, or by taxation so heavy as to drive them to the mines for wages.

¹ See p. 61.

In his book *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, Sir Sydney Olivier makes it clear that this demand for native labour is in part at least one more example of our old trouble of the West, over-capitalization. The capital a company ought to have is the actual cost of machinery and material, together with the reserves necessary to tide over the barren period before returns begin to arrive. On such a capital the workers in many a business could probably earn a good percentage for themselves and their employers.

But there are countless instances where the capital of a company is many times what would be allowed by the above standard. Clever vendors, proprietors or promoters have seen that the company, or some of the property necessary for its working, could be sold to shareholders at much above its actual value, and so the workmen must sweat and slave to pay the minimum rate of interest on the inflated capital. The wages of railwaymen are low to-day because in the booming years of railway construction landholders along the line were able to sell at inflated prices. Now exactly the same thing happens in South Africa. No one supposes that the De Beers' diamond mine with its apparatus cost its paid-up capital of six and a quarter millions or needs any such enormous balance at the Bank.¹ That figure is fixed by the fact that at certain times the holders of the mine or of its shares persuaded others to give them these huge sums in the expectation that the company would pay an interest of something between 5 and 10 per cent. The cry for more recruits simply

¹ The working of over-capitalization is even more clearly illustrated by the fact that the shares stood at an aggregate market price of about £28,000,000 in the beginning of December 1918.

means that natives are needed to earn that interest. Sir Sydney Olivier says :—

“ . . . The demand for labour in this case is not a need of the community as an organic, self-contained human society. It is not a scarcity of power for the maintenance of the local life. . . . It is for the most part simply a demand on the part of foreign capital for labour force with which to extract wealth from the mineral resources of the soil for the profit of foreign recipients . . . which is exported and consumed out of the country. . . . The depression of which we hear as afflicting Johannesburg, is wholly an imported suffering. A great proportion of it is not felt there at all ; it is felt by investors in England. Where their treasure is, there is their heart also.”¹

It is in such circumstances that devices are sought to compel natives to work, and the reduction of the area they own would certainly be a very effective device!

But even in the countries where most of the land is still in native hands, capital has left no stone unturned to find labour. From slavery upwards, through such arrangements as the old Kanaka traffic from the South Sea Islands to Queensland, we travel on to the indenture system as it is known to-day. The road is wet with tears and even with blood, for labour recruiting has given rise to many cruelties, the more cruel in proportion to the possibility of hushing up their story.² We may be thankful that the very communications which carry the adventurer insure that the correspondent of the press will follow close upon his heels. In many cases the missionary has been first on the ground,³ and how much that fact has contributed to save the natives can only be judged by those who will read of the conduct of white wastrels where the native had no protector.

¹ *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, pp. 91-4.

² See Chapter II.

³ e.g., Uganda, Samoa, Papua.

The result of public opinion, however formed, is that to-day, with a few conspicuous exceptions, the indenture system is carefully regulated by Government and freed from specific oppression.

There still remains, however, the criticism that it almost always confines the workers to a strange unfriendly environment. Such a point we must not overpress. Many companies house and feed their labourers with real consideration. Perhaps the change is not greater than that from the country to the cruel dullness of an English industrial town. On the other hand, in some areas the standard is disgracefully low. The following is taken from the report of the late J. B. Moffatt, Special Commissioner on labour troubles in Johannesburg :—

“A Johannesburg municipal regulation provides that every native [with certain specified exceptions] shall be required to reside in a location. . . . The only accommodation provided at present . . . is a location used as a sewage depositing site and an old mine compound . . . provides accommodation for only a limited number of single men. . . . Consequently, a large number have to live in what the regulation calls ‘other places’ . . . yards, or houses in which rooms are let; the rent paid varies from £1 to £2 a month. . . . The conditions under which the people live in them are appalling. To a layman most of the rooms occupied appear to be unfit for human habitation. The yards in which they are were littered with all sorts of refuse and rubbish. . . . A number of the men in the yards were under the influence of liquor, for the illicit disposal of which the yards provide every facility. . . . The rooms in the municipal compound looked as if they had not been cleaned out for a considerable time, and generally the compound was in a filthy state. . . . Such plague spots as these yards are must be a constant danger to the health of the town.”¹

Now, such a state of affairs is not a necessary result of contract labour; yet indenture involves restrictions on liberty which at worst may lead to

¹ *South Africa Government Gazette*, September 6, 1918, p. 389.

much demoralization, and at the very best give small chance of the good life. The men of the open veldt were not meant to be locked up for months at a time in mine compounds allowing of no interest or variety.¹ With rare exceptions the men are separated from their wives. The overseers have the scantiest knowledge of their language, to say nothing of native ways and habits of thought, and there is no cause of cruelty so prolific as the want of mutual understanding. A more serious blemish is that the unscrupulous recruiter, who in the old days did his man-hunting by violence, now does it by deceit. There is a consensus of testimony that where the statements of recruiters cannot be checked they are often utterly misleading.² Most of the larger companies are humane and far-sighted enough to see that they must keep their workers contented. Drawing year by year, as they do, from the same areas of supply, they know the value of a good name. But take it all round, the indenture system, even when carefully regulated, is dangerous from the moral point of view—and morals have a curious way of recoiling on to economics.

I do not for a moment suggest that it is wrong to encourage the native to work. I am convinced that the salvation of the backward races lies in the contribution they may make to the need of the world. If they are producers, then they have a definite value to others, and, what is more im-

¹ I worked for a time in a hospital for Indians in France. The position of the convalescents was only made tolerable by the efforts of the Y.M.C.A. to lighten their dreary waiting, and apart from these many of them would have lost all moral tone. Yet their housing and food was above criticism. Does not this bear directly on the whole system of confined labour?

² This is true of cases as different as the recruiting of South Africans for the mines and of Indians for the sugar plantations of Fiji.

portant, to themselves. They have an interest in life. I doubt, for instance, whether the Pacific populations decrease once they have risen to the stage where they attempt of their own free will to supply a market. The experience of the Gold Coast is most encouraging. There, partly owing to the past initiative of the Basel Mission, the natives have been stimulated to grow cocoa on their own small plantations. It is on these and not on European corporations that most of the new prosperity of the Colony depends. How great that prosperity is may be seen from the fact that the export of cocoa increased from 5,000 tons in 1904 to 38,000 tons in 1912, almost all of it placed on the market by native landholders. The Basel Mission was able to pay some of its African agents salaries of over £300 a year—and they earned it.¹

In all such international commerce the Christian must ask the question of our second chapter, Do we regard the native as an end or only as a means? Which matters most, the dividend or the man who sweats it out of the reluctant earth? This is another sphere in which the spirit is vital. Government may make humane enactments, the directorate of a company may issue all manner of instructions as to welfare; in the end everything turns on the temper of the men who carry

¹ German proposals made early in the war, for the exploitation of colonies to pay the costs of the war, find an ominous parallel in the scheme put forward by the Empire Resources Development Committee. The essence of this scheme is that certain tropical areas should be managed as "estates of the Crown" with a view to producing revenue. This will present the less difficulty because "there is no reason to suppose that these territories will ever receive any large measure of local self-government." However humane may be the feelings of the promoters, such a scheme is likely to result in the suppression of native rights in the interests of imperial income. The native becomes the producer of wealth for the white race, instead of the younger brother for whom the white man is trustee.

them out. Is the native "one of these my little ones" or so much more material for the labour machine? Our answer will affect the happiness of millions and the honour of our civilization.

III

Indentured labour brings us naturally to the factory system. In Japan the pair are sometimes run in harness. Men and more frequently women are held by contracts, advances and debts in a bondage almost like imprisonment and compelled to serve a particular firm against their will.

But before we get well into the question of manufacture, let us grasp the fact that in the densely populated regions of the East the ordinary peasant or even the decent small farmer leads a life of grinding harshness, and in long periods before harvest does not actually get enough to eat. For parts of the year the country folk work from before dawn till long into the night.¹ When the rains are needed, ever and again the farmer scans the brazen skies;—if the monsoon does not break, there will be famine; or floods may ruin his home and destroy his painful hoard of grain. In such climates life for the yeoman must be precarious, and that to a degree which we can hardly understand. The lowest classes are still worse off. Then as regards housing, the villages may be more picturesque than the galvanized iron of the city or the labour compound, but they are too often dirty, insanitary and intolerant of the decencies of life.

In the second place, nineteenth century commerce, however dangerous, is not responsible for

¹ Willard Price, *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*.

all the trouble. There was manufacture before the modern factory, and part of its wages was paid in human suffering. At the C.M.S. hospital in Kerman, Persia, the commonest cases in the children's ward were little carpet weavers crumpled up with rheumatism and distorted by sitting at the loom. By every orthopædic device the hospital attempted to straighten them out again. Sometimes the tired arms, too slow at their weaving, were broken by the overseer with an impatient blow of the weaver's mallet. Many of these children began work well before ten years of age, and some were practically sold by parents to get money for opium. We must keep such facts as these in mind. They will guard us from sentimentalizing over the bad conditions introduced by the factory system to-day.

There is no small danger, however, that in the East the Industrial Revolution may multiply its worst evils many times over for lack of those safeguards which in the West hold them in restraint. To realize how serious that revolution can be in the life of a nation we need only recall the reforms of Lord Shaftesbury or Mrs Browning's "Cry of the Children." In the East, where political rights are as yet largely unknown, at least for the common man, and where combination is rare, it may easily be something much more terrible. There is this advance upon the old unguided days in the West, that Western factory laws and conditions now offer an example to those who come after; many Eastern mill-owners, native and European, do their best; but from every point of view the dangers are greater far than they were in the England of 1820 to 1870.

There is little thought of "welfare" in the factories of Japan. A book like Gulick's *Working*

Women of Japan, balanced as it is, gives a fearful picture of the treatment of women.¹ It is characteristic of Japanese factory life that women supply so large a proportion of the hands employed. Twelve hours is the usual working day, but, when twelve hours have worn to their weary end, more time must be given to clearing up. The employées are lodged in boarding houses which either belong to the firm or are maintained by private individuals for their own profit. The day shift goes to rest in the beds which have only just been left by girls on duty for the night. The carelessness of human suffering and the ignorance of the victims may be measured by the statement that in one Osaka factory of a thousand operatives the surgeon reckoned that he had to treat fifty accidents daily. In general the physical results are so bad as to be a serious menace to the whole physical life of Japan.² Out of every thousand girls nearly half do not keep their places for twelve months together, and the usual cause for this rapid change is a breakdown in health. Government statistics declare that when the girls have returned to their villages 23 per cent die within one year, and it is even asserted that 60 per cent of those who leave home for factory work never return to their villages at all. Tuberculosis and nervous diseases naturally take a fearful toll, and it is not surprising if girls living under such a tyranny are readily inclined to immorality.

In 1910-11 the Government, under pressure from the West, passed factory laws with three main provisions, (a) that no factory might employ girls under twelve ; (b) that girls and women, with boys

¹ See also Willard Price, *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*, pp. 37-58.

² *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1915, pp. 313-23.

under sixteen, might not be kept at work for more than twelve hours a day ; (c) that without special reason these same classes should not be allowed to work between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. The interests of capital were well safeguarded. The Act was not to come into operation for fifteen years ! But since the war, on the argument that Japan is consolidating her hold upon the world's market, even this threat has been suspended, and factory laws fade into the background. Meantime the Government, afraid of Socialism, sanctions nothing so revolutionary as Labour Unions.

Yet of recent years there has been some improvement. While the Japanese religions seem to be wholly indifferent to these things, the conscience of society has been roused and Government is trying to bring in a better day. In a few cases private philanthropy, with or without a direct Christian inspiration, has entirely altered the conditions of the workpeople. The following is one of several similar instances in the *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1915.¹

“ Mr Chikayoshi Nakatsu . . . is an interesting figure. His ambition was to make his inherited fortune count for the Kingdom of God. He felt he ought to put most of it at work in industrial enterprises, where he could exert a personal influence. . . . The loyalty he has evoked was strikingly shown when the foundry was destroyed by fire. Not content with working night and day they said to him, ‘ Isn’t there something more costly we can do to show you our sympathy and devotion ? ’ . . . From the first he determined to be a friend and counsellor to his employées. The hours of labour are shorter than is usual. Special educational and moral instruction is given to the thirty apprentices. Plans for saving, accident insurance, and profit-sharing are under consideration.”

Wherever such efforts have been made, the result is seen immediately in an output of a higher quality,

¹ p. 310.

and as Japanese trading is sometimes discredited by the unevenness of its exports, any improvement in product helps to lift the national commerce on to a higher plane. In view, however, of the general inhumanity of Japanese labour standards, it is not surprising that the patience of the workers gave out during the last two years of the war. The *Narakin*, or profiteers, had been coining money and flaunting their extravagances before the poor. In the end the anger of the populace issued in the rice riots of August 1918, during which the warehouses of obnoxious firms were burnt to the ground.

In Shanghai conditions are much better. The women do not live in dormitories and the factories are well lighted and sanitary, probably more so than the Chinese home. But twelve hours is the normal day, and to that must be added the time occupied in coming and going. Then, too, many of the employ  es are quite small children. It is among these that accidents most often occur. The *National Review* of July 11th, 1914, has an indignant article about a child of eight years taken to hospital from one of the cotton mills:—

“ . . . The story is very simple. A child of eight years old, working for twelve hours at a stretch on the night shift in a cotton mill . . . amid all the dangers of soulless, heartless, unseeing, unthinking, unheeding machinery, and not equal to the task. Just a nod of the weary, childish head, just a slight fall forward in half-sleepy lapse into unconsciousness, and—whizz—the hair is caught in the machinery, the scalp is torn off, and the little child’s head is all but smashed to pieces; for a relenting moment the machinery is stopped and the encumbrance removed, and the child’s place is taken by another eight- or seven-year-old mite. . . . Of course the child has no business to get tired and to fall forward into the relentless machinery. Is there not a superior or a foreman or some kindly official of that kind to go round and prod the little beggars in the back or the ribs every so long, to make sure they do not go to sleep and

waste precious time? Of course there is, but he cannot be omnipresent, can he? So poor little eight-year-old must be scalped just as the dawn is coming and when the night's work is pretty near ending. The whole thing is a disgrace to civilization."

This is no isolated case. In Sept. 1916 a paper was read to the Nurses' Association by the matron of a hospital in Shanghai, in which she said: "Most of our surgery in the children's ward is from tubercular joint disease and mill accidents."

Apart from accidents, conditions are worst where foreign and Chinese capital is jointly engaged in Chinese premises. In old Chinese buildings the proper sanitation of the workrooms is out of the question, and with such a combination either partner can throw the blame on the other.

In Shanghai, however, industry is nearly as much exposed to healthy public scrutiny as in London. A strong local press would allow no great abuse to go unchallenged. It is in the inland regions, as the factory system gradually spreads over the country, that the most serious peril will have to be faced. The people of China are a noble race; among them evil is wrought by want of thought and not from want of heart, yet we have seen in Chapter II. that they do not always set much store by human life, and there are no obvious safeguards to prevent China from reproducing the inhumanities which stained industrial expansion in the West. Only think of the scale on which in such a country they may be reproduced!

In Bombay most of the cotton factories seem to be well equipped and sanitary, but the long hours and child labour are not creditable, while the housing problem is urgent. Professor R. K. Mukerji, lecturer on Indian Economics at the

Punjab University, wrote in the *Modern Review* for April 1918 :— •

“In Bombay there are 166,337 occupied one-room tenements, giving an average of 4.47 persons per room, and no less than 76 per cent of the population live in one-room tenements. The infant mortality is as high as 454 per thousand. . . . Industrialism has its curses. . . . The Indian peasant, when he becomes a factory hand, is divorced from nature. . . . He is tempted to find the excitement his nature craves by the artificial stimuli of intemperance and prostitution.”

The municipality has attempted to provide quarters in galvanized iron hutments and so to deliver the people from the worst slums.

As has been mentioned, conditions in the villages are very hard. Even tiny children must pay their way by toil, but there is surely a real difference between toil under the varying interests of country life, amid the trees, crops or cattle, and the same strain in the monotonous repetition of the factory. If the long hours of English factories rob the workman of his power of reaction, can we expect simple villagers from up country in India to spend their working hours in the factory and their rest in “sanitary” quarters of galvanized iron without losing something vital to personality? An element of life is being sacrificed which it will take generations to reinstate.

Such problems allow of no easy diagnosis. The one thing certain is that at bottom they are the creation of a spirit, a way of regarding gain in relation to the lives of men. Companies, with neither bodies to kick nor souls to save, control thousands of workers under the impersonal title of “labour.” Except under the annoying strain of a strike, the shareholders will scarcely regard any of this solid block as composed of individuals. Likely enough they will appoint managers who will

tell you that they "are not out here for their health," to say nothing of the health of others. The life of great countries is being altered by men whose dominant idea is dividends.

Let no one ignore the fatal unity of this influence. As Olivier points out, "the same persons who most loudly accuse the African of idleness in his own country, most loudly inveigh at home against the shirking of the British workman."¹ The people who have tyrannized over natives will come back to Britain and do all they can "to keep labour in its place." In England they have not the same power. True, but the spirit they learnt abroad will have its sure effect in retarding progress. On the purely economic side it is plain that the attempt to improve wages and conditions of labour in Britain is handicapped by the competition of underpaid degraded labour in other lands. That is why the Labour Party Manifesto for the election of December 1918 included the following: "The way to deal with unfair competition of imports made under sweated conditions is not by tariffs, but international labour legislation, which will make sweating impossible." The Peace Conference has attempted to set up a common standard for the treatment of the workers, and the British representatives seem to have done much to press the movement on. But it will be none too easy to realize the ideal.

Even in economics the spirit is supreme. We have to create a positive temper which regards British working men as human beings rather than as hands. The cross currents are so strong that love alone will steer us through to our destination—the measurement of all men as essentially important to God and to society. Love alone

¹ *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, p. 74.



A BANK WITH A MORAL PURPOSE.

[Photo, Sir Daniel Hamilton.]

*A missionary examining the accounts
of a Co-operative Bank. (See page 132.)*

will unify the contrary interests of employer and employed. But love will never be confined by fences. It goes out to the Chinese as to the weaver in Lancashire. Any love less universal will be too anæmic to save the West.

IV

We must not forget the debt we owe to governments for their attempts to help their subjects on the economic side. The irrigation schemes of India have arisen from the purest and most unselfish philanthropy on the part of officials. The barrage of the Nile and the projects afoot for Mesopotamia and Palestine show how much can be done. In the Philippines, under the kindly interest of the United States Administration, agriculture has leapt into new life and industries are taught as part of a necessary education. Missionaries are co-operating in many such experiments and developments. Again, no one can have experience of the Government of India without realizing its deep anxiety for the uplift of the criminal tribes, the victims of the Indian caste system. It is common for Government to seek the specific aid of missions to solve this problem. Secular attempts have not satisfied the experts and they turn to those who can supply the moral influence.¹ The Salvation Army and other missions now control the criminal tribes in colonies, for the finance of which Government is largely responsible. Such co-operation is likely to increase rapidly during the coming years. Christianity is always the redeemer of the lost.

¹ Margaret Burton, *Women Workers of the Orient*, p. 164.

The missionary, however, enters realms closed to Government. It is his genius to think of men as souls to be saved. If ever he falls into the heresy of mere statistics, he is lapsing from grace. He is therefore the very antithesis of the dividend hunter. His converts learn self-respect and, as they rise, they develop new wants and new capacities. The average convert becomes a better workman and a better customer. Any Christian community is lifted in the social scale.

This is a great contribution, but many missionaries are impelled to go further. I know men who are teaching the Papuans to plant coco-nuts for themselves, so that they can get a return in seven years. Using honest commerce as his instrument, Wilfrid Grenfell has preserved the very existence of the population of the Labrador Coast, and the whole trading system of the Moravians in Greenland is inspired by the same spirit. I know another area, in South India, where hundreds of women from the lowest castes have been lifted into prosperity and self-respect by the teaching of lace making and embroidery. The curious thing is that in this work the spiritual results are even more definite than the economic. The South American Missionary Society, dealing with the scattered tribes of Paraguay, found it impossible to gather them for instruction except by making a trading centre round which they could gather. There, too, trade has been the handmaid of the Gospel. A young American Presbyterian professor in the Missionary University of Nanking has started forestry on an extensive scale. If his example is followed untold benefit will come to China.¹

It is most important, however, that there should be no blind stampede towards industrial missions.

¹ See throughout Willard Price, *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*.

To the sympathizers at home, unversed in their difficulties, the very name has an irresistible attraction. Yet the missionary expert knows how easy is financial failure and how real is the possibility of pauperizing or fraud. The old charge that converts were rice Christians had little foundation, but, paradoxical though it sounds, the danger of industrial missions is that they may create rice Christians on a large scale. Especially in those depressed communities which most need backbone, the labourer tends to think that his conversion entitles him to leniency. That way lies sponging and bankruptcy. If, on the other hand, the missionary keeps tight the cord of management, business friction may arise between himself and his spiritual children. To steer the middle course is difficult indeed, and there are few who can keep the position at once of employer and spiritual guide.

It is desirable, too, that the industry should be natural to the country. Lace, for instance, which must be sold to Europeans, is less suitable than weaving or stock rearing, while anything agricultural goes right to the heart of the main problem, that of the utilization of the land. (Yet it is just in agriculture, so dependent on local knowledge, that the enthusiastic amateur from abroad may make the most fatal mistakes.) Any industrial mission should apply its science to local conditions and at the same time should be extensive enough to have workers in training to take the places of the leaders if they drop out of the ranks. For want of such "second strings" many a promising industry has fallen away.

There is, however, a system known to several countries and capable of wide adaptation, which seems to provide much of the help that Indians

need, without making them dependent—the Co-operative Bank. At certain times of the year the Indian farmer can scarcely avoid borrowing, and the common rate of interest in India is $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, rising sometimes to twice that figure! Yet these are folk to whom every farthing is of importance. The Bank begins by delivering the members from their servitude to the money-lender and the mortgage-jobber; then it builds them up into self-respecting independent farmers of the land. For productive purposes it will lend at 12 per cent to its members, who receive all profits after sufficient capital has been gathered for effective working. The principle is mutual and unlimited liability. If one defaults, the others must suffer, and there is thus the strongest inducement to conduct business with rigorous care and, all watching over each, to see that every member is faithful and progressive. This also is a sphere in which Government and missions are co-operating to an increasing degree. When proper conditions are fulfilled, the Administration finds the capital and the missionary arranges for the needed supervision. The Y.M.C.A. has lately begun to specialize in this work, and is doing a service destined to alter the whole economic and moral life of the villages. Indeed, the effect on the moral life is the most marked result. Few men in any race find it easy to stand alone, and the caste system has made the Indian peculiarly dependent on the support of the “brotherhood.” That is one reason why individual converts are often disappointing. The Co-operative Bank, with its economic application of the doctrine that we are members one of another, provides exactly that combination of sympathy and stiffening which is the Christian parallel to the “brotherhood” of caste. The

result is that in communities whose Christianity was of a very unsatisfactory type the introduction of a bank has meant a spiritual revival. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the close alliance between the progress of the soul of man and the daily economic system under which he lives.

Indeed, there is no task before Christianity of greater importance than that of the consecration of commerce to the service of God and man. Hitherto the idea has been rare and strange. It must be made common and dominant. For commerce, too, we must learn that *noblesse oblige*, we must make the man of capital, as the manual worker, rejoice that he is among men as one that serveth. Through the missionary and through the layman, through the Westerner and through the convert in Africa or the East, Christianity must claim and exercise control of economic relations.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- Willard Price. *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
- Margaret Burton. *Women Workers of the Orient*. Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, U.S.A.
- S. L. Gulick. *Working Women of Japan*. Missionary Education Movement, New York.
- Sir Sidney Olivier. *White Capital and Coloured Labour*. National Labour Press. 1s. 6d. net. (Out of print.)
- Maurice Evans. *Black and White in South-East Africa*. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
- W. E. Wilkie Brown. *Co-operative Agricultural Banks*. Article in *International Review of Missions*, July 1915.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"Julian . . . urged benevolence on his fellow pagans, if they wished to compete with the Christians. It was the only thing, he felt, that could revive paganism, and his appeal met with no response. 'Infinite love in ordinary intercourse' is the

Christian life, and it must come from within or nowhere. . . . The Christian . . . was a plain person who gave himself up for other people, cared for the sick and the worthless, had a word of friendship and hope for the sinful and despised, would not go and see men killed in the amphitheatre, and—most curious of all—was careful to have indigent brothers taught trades by which they could help themselves. A lazy Christian was no Christian, but was a 'trader in Christ.'—T. R. GLOVER, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 162.

"Th' on'y hope f'r th' Indyun is to put his house on rollers, an' keep a team hitched to it, an' whin he sees a white man, to start f'r th' settin' sun. If he knew annything about balloons, he'd have a chanst; but we white men, Hinnessy, has all th' balloons. But, annyhow, he's doomed. Th' onway march iv th' white civilization, with morgedges an' other modhern improvements, is slowly but surely chasin' him out; an' th' last iv him'll be livin' in a divin'-bell somewhere out in the Pacific Ocean."—*Mr Dooley in Peace and War*, pp. 30-31.

"Hitherto many colonial economists—especially the official ones—have been inclined to prefer negro cultivation to the policy of plantations and farms. They dreamed of a development something like that of the English Gold Coast Colony, where black farmers and landowners produce up to 50,000 tons of cocoa for export. There are black millionaires in Accra, who keep white chauffeurs, black lawyers and black hotel-proprietors with white servants. The conditions are certainly convincing evidence of the will to live well and advance on the part of the natives; but it cannot be the object of German colonial policy to produce similar conditions in German *Mittel-Afrika*. We must not increase the value of the soil in order to give the negro the pleasure of a higher rent for his land. The native shall, of course, share in the increased value . . . but it would be absurd to let him reap all the advantage."—EMIL ZIMMERMAN, *The German Empire of Central Africa*.

"[In Japan] . . . thousands of young girls are still contracting for three years to live in a 'compound' like so many peas in a pod, and to work in the mills twelve hours per day one week, and twelve hours per night the next; . . . some [of the compounds] are comfortable . . . whilst others are bad, and the houses where these hard-working, cheerful little creatures eat, sleep and work, are damp, comfortless and forlorn. The places where the food is served are little better than sheds with leaking roofs and gaping walls, while pools of water accumulate on the earthen floor. The seats are 4-inch bare boards, and the tables two 10-inch boards. Their sleeping quarters are a trifle better;

the floors are covered with matting upon which they sleep in rows, of 50 or even 100 in a room. . . . The injurious effects of overwork and of the unsanitary circumstances, especially the night-work, endanger both their mental and physical health. . . . " *The Times*, quoted in LAWTON'S *Empires of the East*, vol. ii., p. 833.

"At present the everyday life of the Bombay mill-hand is a scandal. The squalor of their lives is indefensible when one considers the huge profits which have resulted from their work. Over a year ago, the Press called attention to the housing of mill-hands and this is what it said: 'It is no unusual sight to find fifteen or twenty persons, of both sexes, lying huddled on the floor of a single room in a stifling atmosphere and a vile stench. A single small window or an open door gives the only ventilation. Furniture there is none beyond a few brass pots and some pegs. The sanitary arrangements are unspeakable. Every noise and smell that occurs in the neighbourhood penetrates the crazy walls and floor and disturbs the sleepers. The chawls¹ are often so rickety that it is a miracle that they do not collapse under their own weight. They seem to be kept up like a house of cards, by the support of their scarcely less rickety neighbours.' The immediate problems are, therefore, housing and sanitation, and mill-owners and employers should begin at once to tackle them. Their dominant thought at the present time seems to be money-making and the close retention of power. . . ."—*Indian Industries and Power*, Aug. 1918.

"... In the Paraguayan Chaco, at our central Station Makthlawaiya we have a really important work on industrial lines, here we have taught the Lengua-Mascoy Indians (a Chaco tribe) cattle-rearing on an extensive scale and the Indians are made shareholders in the 'Bank.' This 'Bank' issues its own paper money, keeps its own stores, and is so completely self-contained that the Indians on the Station and all who like to trade with them are kept out of the hands of unscrupulous traders; the profits of this Bank all go to benefit the Indians. In connection with all this we teach some carpentry, and they make furniture, for which we get a ready sale among Paraguayans, carts, including wheels, clear land, put up fences, make roads, etc., and our men are valued by settlers. . . ."—ALAN EWBANK, South American Missionary Society.

¹ Tenement houses.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM OF RACE

"... where there cannot be Greek and Jew, . . . barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman : but Christ is all."—(COL. iii. 11, R. V.)

I

THERE seems to be implanted in all men a certain tendency to self-assertion, sharply marked as against all newcomers, but becoming most pronounced towards the foreigner. The Papuan tribesman is contemptuous of the next tribe, speaking a different language. The Oxford "public school man" too often looks down on the boy from a local grammar school, unless he is outstanding as an athlete. By a curious paradox the Indian "outcaste" keeps up caste divisions between himself and his comrades in degradation with a stiffness uncommon at the higher end of the social scale. The sacred books of India call the foreigner a *mleccha* (which would be fairly translated "dirty savage"), while the Chinese let him off more easily as a "foreign devil." If thought is allowed to follow ordinary human lines, it almost invariably produces race isolation and a belief in the divine right of superiority, if not of dominion. The peoples of the West are no exception, the Anglo-Saxons least of all.

Perhaps by itself race division might not be so disastrous, but with rare exceptions we find it

reinforced by some other tendency to separation, or, to change the metaphor, the channel cut by some other stream of conflict is washed deeper by the floods of race feeling. People of divergent interests, officials *versus* members of the public, judges *versus* prisoners, employers *versus* employed, teachers *versus* taught—these pairs are all thrust further apart when the line of antithesis happens to coincide with that of race. Any man may watch the tendency in himself; he teaches French schoolboys, and when certain difficulties crop up, he says, "Oh, these French!" when he ought to say, "Oh, these boys!" In India I had been much annoyed by the carelessness and inaccuracy of Indian craftsmen. When I came home in 1912 I was surprised to discover the degree to which I had to put up with similar defects in the work of well-known London firms. In other words, the cleavage of race had led me to do injustice to India. Almost anyone who will watch himself for a little will detect the same injustice in his attitude to foreigners.

Further, the careful observer is sometimes tempted to cynicism by seeing how irregularly this race tendency operates. Booker Washington tells without malice or indignation a typical story of its caprice, when he was the guide of an American Indian:

"The man in charge of the [dining] saloon politely informed me that the Indian could be served, but that I could not. I never could understand how he knew just where to draw the colour line, since the Indian and I were of about the same complexion. . . . When I went to — Hotel the clerk stated that he would be glad to receive the Indian into the house, but . . . could not accommodate me."

Since there is no real principle behind such prejudices, they readily yield to self-interest. The

Moslem who calls the unbeliever a *Kafir* (infidel) gives way to superior physical force with as little reluctance as he would feel in establishing his own dominion, if force were on his side. America, which strains at the best educated of Asiatics, can open her generous citizenship to the ignorant peasantry of Eastern Europe and the Levant. Again, it is instructive to note in certain quarters a disposition to treat the Japanese differently from other Eastern races. One suspects that the governing fact is that Japan is now in a position to enforce respect. In other words, the superior race is the race that cannot be bullied. Force is the ultimate criterion. That doctrine upon German lips we have resisted to the death. Are we free of it ourselves ?

This is another of the problems which has become much more pressing since the modern improvements in communication. All races have come into so close a contact that they cannot leave their attitude indefinite. Trade we must, meet we must, and we are bound to live in the vicinity of other nations. It is safe to say that the greatest danger to a League of Nations is likely to arise upon Eastern or African shores and to have its root in racial animosities. A situation such as that described by Maurice Evans must be fraught with danger :

“The very atmosphere is charged with it [race distinction] in South Africa. A white oligarchy, every member of the race an aristocrat; a black proletariat, every member of the race a server; the line of cleavage as clear and deep as the colours. The less able and vigorous of our race thus protected, find here an ease, a comfort, a recognition to which their personal worth would never entitle them in a homogeneous white population.

“And we have all been enjoying this ease, comfort, power, as a matter of course, as our due. But in this world of compensations, of forces ever tending to the balance, we cannot simply

take this good and ignore the responsibilities which ever accompany power. Yet this is what we have been trying to do ; to take the goods and evade payment. It will not do.”¹

The author is right ; it will not do. The mixture is far too inflammable for the future of civilization. Nor is it only in South Africa that we can discover the materials for a blaze.

Even if there were no risk of armed conflict, we could not afford to leave things as they are. Just as mercy “blesseth him that gives and him that takes,” so contempt degrades the scorner almost more than it handicaps the scorned. There is hardly a vice so poisonous in the catalogue of human sin. The race that despises another, that sees in uncleanness a reason for aloofness and not for cleansing, that refuses the cup of cold water just because the thirsty sufferer is a little one, that finds in ignorance no call to enlighten but only an excuse for passing by on the other side, that race, in the mercy of divine justice, is doomed.

The social reformer in Britain, as he tries to combat class exclusiveness and the quiet insolence of neglect, will understand the international bearing of the problem. The American statesman, attempting with splendid courage and success to absorb the varied races of immigrants into the citizenship of his great republic, will agree that the divisiveness of race must be overcome if we are to create a citizenship of the world. We need a conviction of the value of human nature even in its crudest, most degraded form. Where is the power to stamp that conviction upon the common intercourse of every day ?

¹ *Black and White in South-East Africa*, p. 15.

II

There are few countries without some traces of imperfect race fusion, as for instance in the relation of the constituent races of the British people. It is not generally known that in the Boxer rising of North China during 1900, Cantonese from the South were murdered in considerable numbers; they too were regarded as foreigners and, more important, they were successful competitors in trade. But nowhere has division within national boundaries proceeded to such extremes and opened up so many additional lines of fissure as in India.¹ It would appear that caste began with the distinction of the Aryan invaders into three classes of citizens: 1. The Brahmans—priests and lawyers; 2. the Kshatriyas—warriors and (when the Brahmans would allow it) governors; 3. Vaisyas—the traders and financiers. The classification is natural enough and may be matched in the history of many nations. But division was worse divided when all three classes stood aloof from the “black” aborigines, the Sudras or workmen, and those below them. These also had their own class divisions. There came in, too, the organization of the castes as trade guilds with the economic inducement to stand together against others. All these crossing lines produced so many new pens of minute separation. Little by little caste came to involve a sharp distinction between those few with whom a man might eat or intermarry and all the rest. Then the matter was complicated by the peaceful penetration of neigh-

¹ In the space available it is only possible to deal in generalities, any of them subject to some qualification. But the picture presented is broadly true to the real meaning of caste.

bouring regions. Unconquered tribes were brought under the Brahman sway by offering to the different ranks a position within the Hindu list of precedence. All this results in a series of fine gradations which even the Indian finds it difficult to follow. In an area as large as an English county there will be found between 200 and 500 separate castes.

On hearing such a statement the English social reformer commonly interjects: "But is the situation really worse than our class divisions in England?" The question is a fair one and should remind us how important it is to create a genuine democracy of mutual respect and interdependence. There can be no doubt, however, of the answer. British conditions at their worst give no parallel to the caste system. In the first place its division covers almost every aspect of family life. We sometimes hear talk of the tyranny of trade unions, but imagine how real the tyranny would be if a trade union could enter into the minutest details of the home, could dictate, not to man only but also to wife and family, and could make its rules for every social relation. If the caste feeling was opposed (and naturally such a force tends to conservatism) a member might be expelled for sending his daughters to school, for resisting any rule he might deem immoral, or for accepting food in the extremest need from the hands of men outside the castes prescribed. Hindus boast that with them opinion is free. The claim is true, but it is dangerous to advocate, and still more to act on, any unpopular opinion. I was present in 1911 at many sessions of a suit brought by Govinda Das. He had been expelled from his caste for advocating that it should welcome back into the

brotherhood, as if no sin had been committed, those who had broken Hindu law by crossing the "black water" to England.

Remember, too, that caste will ruin not only a man's own future, but that of his children too. If he will not obey the "brotherhood," his son will get no wife, his daughter no husband. In any house of the little community with whom alone it is legal to eat, food will be refused to them. Their livelihood will be taken from them. To be outlawed in Europe meant expulsion from citizenship and protection; to be outcasted means expulsion from life in any human sense of the word.

The second difference, which few Westerners understand, is that no lower caste would receive a family outcasted by a higher. It is impossible to fall to a lower rank—all you can do is to fall outside the system. For the Hindu that is the bottomless abyss. He may become a Christian or a Moslem, while if he lives in one of the five or six big cities he may find a community of other outlaws who have withdrawn from caste altogether. But no one would wish a man to change his faith for anything less than conviction and the cities offer refuge only to the few. Speaking broadly the individual must surrender.

Third, the Westerner must remember the permanence of caste. There are traces of mixture far, far back, and on the outer fringes of Hinduism a certain amount of movement up and down is still possible, but 95 per cent of the Hindus of to-day stand in the same caste relations as their ancestors five hundred or a thousand years ago. By the religious devotee caste may be disregarded (some of the prophets, poets, and reformers were low-castes or even outcastes), but other Hindus must stay where they were born. India allows of nothing

like the normal rise and fall of families according to the industry or ability of their members, which is going on all the time in the West. For the Indian boy of low caste there is no such thing as "the career open to talent."

In a modified way caste sometimes plays the part of a friendly society. It also tends to organize the unwieldy masses into manageable brotherhoods, whose members know one another. In a larger society some at least might feel that there was no group to which they belonged. Caste does give moral, and in some cases immoral, support to the individual.

Again, relations between the castes are often friendly enough within the limits prescribed. A landowner will perhaps be on familiar terms with the low castes who do him service. The signs of outward oppression are few. Just so were relations good between slaves and their masters a century ago. Just so slavery had certain advantages. But on the balance these supplied no real argument for the retention of the system. Its benefits are only secured by absolute submission, and, as the late Justice Ranade saw, this was as bad for those above as for those below. He wrote :—

"Now what have been the inward forms or ideas which have been hastening our decline during the past three thousand years? . . . Isolation, submission to outward force more than to inward conscience, *perception of fictitious differences between men and men* due to heredity. . . At present the smaller the number with whom you can dine or marry or associate, the higher is your perfection and purity. . . . Every caste and every sect has thus a tendency to split itself into smaller castes and smaller sects in practical life."¹

With such a situation contrast Japan. At the beginning of the reign of the last Mikado the noble

¹ *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 192. The italics are mine.—F.L.

classes made a voluntary surrender of caste and exclusive power because they believed that the well-being of their country demanded it. This is the more striking when we take into account how many of the old families lost not rank alone, but almost the means of subsistence. In that great renunciation lies one secret of Japanese progress.

But whatever be the weaknesses of the caste system in general, the most generous estimate must admit that it works unmitigated evil for the depressed classes. Their semi-animal state has been so well described in *The Outcastes' Hope* that I need spend no time on it here. For the most part they represent the aboriginal tribes, conquered by the sword or supplanted by Brahman chicanery : to Hinduism in its purity they are *mlecchas* (dirty savages), and Hinduism has always done its best to keep them so.¹ The Vedas are its sacred books, books containing the key to all existence, and the way of salvation ; yet no scrupulous Brahman will show them to a *mleccha*. I well remember the sullen scowl with which a Brahman boy refused to open the cloth in which he was carrying one volume of the Vedas. Indeed, one of the laws of Manu directs that molten lead shall be poured into the ears of any Sudra (one of the good artisan castes) if he should chance to hear a stanza of these books of life ! Hinduism has no impulse to seek and save the lost. Hindus, happily, are better than their creed. Many of those who have come into contact with the West have realized that these things must be altered. There are now Hindu missions to the Depressed Classes in imitation of

¹ It is a useful discipline in humility to remember that Westerners, as being foreigners, are *mlecchas*. If strict Hindu teaching is followed, Lord Curzon, Max Müller or Mrs Besant, sit in the compartment for the outcastes. However sympathetic with Indian aspirations, the Labour leaders will find that they fare no better.

Christian missions. But they are not of any magnitude,¹ and it is hard to see how, without breaking up the whole caste system, they can offer human dignity or progress to those they hope to reach. Yet that is the crucial question.

Christian missions, however, have had large success in lifting these communities. Indeed, it is a common reproach that they have secured only outcaste converts. It is at least certain that they have secured them in enormous numbers, and the friends of, say, the Labour Party will not disparage missions because they have proved able to help those who could not help themselves! Beginning with a distrust of these mass movements, I have been brought to feel that in such a country as India they must form the standard method of Christian expansion. The exceptional dangers of the method, even among those who had everything to gain by conversion, have been so small by comparison with its triumphs that no dispassionate student can continue to disapprove. Men whose grandfathers were outcastes now occupy positions of influence, trust and honour, and while very many are leaders in the Indian Church, others are high up in Government service and stand alongside the Brahman. There are whole countrysides looking to such men for leadership and inspiration.

I do not pretend that the Indian Church has entirely freed itself from the caste spirit. It is scarcely to be expected that an atmosphere so pervasive should be swept away in a generation or two. But though compromise has been necessary, the branches of the Church of India (except the Romans and certain Lutherans) have never abandoned their witness to unity in Christ. Speaking as an Englishman, my wonder is that they have

¹ See G. E. Phillips, *The Outcastes' Hope*.

gone as far. They can only do it because they are marked by the Cross.

The secret of it all is to be found in a typical Christian Communion. The celebrant may be of low-caste origin. By the converted Brahman or yeoman sit the sweeper and the despised leather worker. Contrary to every Hindu precedent, they take of the same bread and the same cup. According to one rite they pass the bread and wine to one another. But whatever the rite, their sacramental act declares that in Christ all men are new creations. The outcaste is sealed with a divine dignity. For him the common meal is a sacrament indeed, a sacrament of good tidings, of humanity redeemed. Would it be possible anywhere but "in Christ"?

III

Yet the first duty of the British in regard to the race problem is to sweep before their own door. The Sudra certainly gets a hundredfold better treatment from his English masters than under the Brahman yoke,¹ but this does not absolve us from removing the race exclusiveness which lies to our charge.

In the old days officers and others, expecting to stay in India for many years or to make their home there, entered into relations with Indians much closer than those of to-day. They even married Indian wives, and the mixed offspring took an honourable place. Some of the bravest deeds of the Mutiny records were done by Eurasians, or Anglo-Indians, as they have been called of late. But now that a man can go on leave to England every three or four years and take his wife to India without risk or inconvenience, now that girls

¹ Govinda Das, *Hinduism and India*, p. 251.

come out to spend the cold weather with their friends, a self-sufficient British society is created, and many of the earlier links with Indians have rusted away. The two communities face each other—or should we say turn their backs on each other?—in relations of the most formal kind. This is the more unfortunate because the line of cleavage corresponds so nearly to that between governors and governed.

The same facility for travel allows Indians to go to Britain, and with their keen sight to discover the weaknesses of our social life. We can no longer persuade them to glorify from afar the “Christian England” in which we like to believe.

As always, the very fact of division tends to cut the channel deeper. As a rule Englishmen know too little of Indian etiquette; indeed it is often stated that there is no such thing. Yet in China the brothers of these very Englishmen take considerable pains to conform to an elaborate system of manners. Now this misconception is in part due to the same weakness which has made India a subject community. The Chinese have insisted on certain rules, the Indian, who has his own customs and observances, has too often bowed his head and protested, “That is right which my lord commands.” But it is due quite as much to the lack of sympathy and imagination from which most Anglo-Saxons suffer.

One elementary rule of Indian etiquette is “never do anything ceremonial with the left hand.” During the anxious times of 1907, in a district where feeling ran high, the wife of a prominent Government officer, being invited to give away prizes at a College Speech Day, presented every single prize with her left hand. The students drew the inference that she intended to show that

she thought them dirt beneath her feet. It was of course pure ignorance, but from the merely imperial point of view such ignorance was criminal.

Friendships are not fostered by the transfers to which, every six months or so, the junior Civil Service official is liable. He may easily remain in each district long enough to get to know the bad characters and the too large body of those who have an axe to grind. It is from these that he forms his impressions; with the better and self-respecting people he rarely meets. The standard of vernacular speech is low in the Army and none too high in the Civil Service.¹ That of itself counteracts many of the attempts of the wise seniors to improve personal relations. Matters are made worse by the insolence of certain unofficial Englishmen. Not long ago I met a globe-trotter who had been through India in a motor car. "Oh yes," he said in a complacent tone, "I learnt some Hindustani—*Hut jāō* (out of the road!), and *sūar ka buccā* (son of a swine)"!

In a large Eastern port there was a European hostel, filled by clerks from England. The warden told me that it was more common than not for them to refer to the natives as "swine." Yet many of the "swine" were men of an education and refinement which the clerks were not trained to understand.²

¹ I was once shown a copy of a little Hindustani phrase book and vocabulary for the use of officers and other Englishmen, though in no way official. Opposite the English word "woman" it gave the Hindustani word for "harlot"! The compiler probably knew no better, but fancy the unintended insults likely to arise.

² "More than half those of British birth and descent are town dwellers . . . often unaccustomed to command personal service, having been indeed themselves servers. . . . This latter class often sadly mishandle the natives . . . they alternate between familiarity and nagging. . . . The result is a bearing on the part of the native which often approaches insolence." (Maurice Evans, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, p. 49.)

Nor unfortunately are such bad manners confined to those who may plead ignorance. At a private dance in Oxford two or three years ago two South African subalterns deliberately set themselves to drive out a couple of Indians. "These fellows have no business to be mixing up with our women," they said. The South African may explain such an attitude by the strong colour feeling of his country. It was more painful to hear that an English girl approved their plan of campaign. Not a few students who came from India loyal have changed their attitude after a few months' stay in Great Britain. Are we to look for the explanation to an incident, or chain of incidents, similar to that described above?

I have before me a letter written by an English-woman from a ship on its way to India during the war :—

"There are three Parsees on board, very nice, polite—but ostracized quite unmistakably, though they are on their way as doctors to Mesopotamia! And we are on our way to their country! At Port Said I was left with a very young married woman and a girl of fifteen. The steward asked if we would mind moving to the next table . . . *at the end* of which the three Parsees sat. I said I didn't mind at all. After one meal the girl of fifteen and the other came and said, didn't I mind having the Parsees? I said 'not at all, but why shouldn't *they* move?' They expressed desires to stay with me, and the girl said, 'After all, why shouldn't we treat Parsees decently?' However, another woman persuaded them to move, and I was left with the Parsees, steadily refusing to insult them by moving. . . . I longed to ask if the woman who most . . . helped to leave them out of things, and who goes to the Holy Communion, would have sat at the table with a young, probably 'coloured' Jewish peasant. . . . There is nothing against these men, one of them has just been for three years at Cambridge, and I think they all three come to our church services on board. . . ."

As D. B. Macdonald points out,¹ while real Christianity never dominates, Christianity is the religion

¹ *Aspects of Islam*, p. 285.

of those who, unfortunately, are the dominant races. Christianity has seldom been strong enough to obliterate the distinctions of race. Islam with its lower standards has had a larger success.

Then there is the whole policy of race exclusion. There are obvious disadvantages in opening the door of any society to men of an alien civilization—disadvantages economic, and sometimes moral. But are there not ways by which these may be so reduced as to allow the opening of the gate? The present bar is surely wrong. For instance, are certain races of the British Empire to share in all the sacrifice but to have no corresponding rights? An Indian friend of mine was asked to go to Australia as a speaker. He refused, for, as he said, "I should feel like a traitor to my country if I went by a special arrangement which would not accept my countrymen, and which would not allow even me to stay permanently." There is the same problem on the Pacific coast. The Japanese, if admitted, are too often ostracized. The way Indians were handled by the South African Government roused a storm in India during 1913 of surprising force, and if, with a wise disregard of precedent, Lord Hardinge had not put himself at the head of the movement, it would have been assumed that British opinion supported South Africa and indignation might have proceeded to dangerous lengths.

It is of course impossible in such a sketch as this to introduce all the fine shading needed. Our view can at best be only a combination of strong lights and shadows. Instances of British discourtesy in India are rare and there is evidence that they have been rarer in the last few years. Unfortunately when the races live as far apart as they do, and when there is any

inkling of race superiority, a few instances of evil go a very long way. But Lord Hardinge's action reminds us of the great service done by Englishmen in promoting sympathy. The higher officials are commonly awake to the importance of mutual respect between the races. But there are those who give something warmer than respect. They have their reward. Where, in a country like India, men and women show that they really care for the people round them, they often receive an affection approaching worship. The wife of a Government doctor in an Indian town gave up her leisure to the service of Indian women. On one of her visits she recognized a crisis which required that the patient should be removed to hospital without delay. No proper carriage could be found, and so, seating herself on the uncomfortable little country cart, she drove hastily through the streets supporting the Indian woman in her arms. I doubt whether she ever guessed at the reverent and grateful comments made by Indians of all classes. Yet why are such instances comparatively few while many British women have nothing to do but go to the club and play tennis or bridge? They would find life vastly more interesting if they would serve Indian women (and learn the language enough to serve!) while they would confer an immeasurable benefit on India.

IV

Nothing is to be gained by any sentimental pretence that the problem is an easy one. Trivial differences of custom are not always trivial in effect. Sir Valentine Chirol describes a Jain travelling in his railway carriage who

collected vermin from his person and put them in a little silver box rather than take their sacred lives!¹ We have customs which are nearly as offensive to Indian feeling. Then there is the whole question of relations between men and women touched in Chapter IV. Women who meet non-Christians from races with a different standard of sex relation, must always be careful of the length to which they allow friendship to proceed. Further, Indians, even Christian Indians, must bear a greater share of blame for the cleavage than they will always allow. I have known them slight advances made by Europeans because they had not taken the trouble to recognize the courtesy that lay behind an invitation. The Indian is by no means always free from the insolence he resents when its point is turned against himself. Again, India has been a subject country for generations, and is still very poor. The result is that its people include a somewhat larger proportion of those who seek material profit from the friendship of a man of influence. The Westerner, who regards it as sacrilege to use the noble words of friendship to secure personal gain, sometimes fails to get past the self-seekers to the representatives of the truer India. Understanding would be improved if Indians frowned more sternly upon professions that are only half sincere. Perhaps the most obstinate difficulty is the inertia which keeps both sides from rising up to bridge the chasm. We are content, both of us, to stand in chilly, criticizing aloofness.

It is against such tendencies that the missionary has to struggle. Let us be quite plain about it—he is rarely free from pride of race. All those capable of detachment and self-examination

¹ *Indian Unrest*, p. 302.

recognize in this cast of the mental vision one of their great handicaps. Most of us have seen certain other missionaries treat the people of the country in a way that we did not entirely approve—after all, personal relations between Christians at home still leave much to be desired—and, if we have been honest, we have taken the blame to ourselves for that or some parallel failure. The missionary is sometimes irritable and sometimes unimaginative.

Few missionary problems of the present day are so insistent as that produced by the feeling of natives of many lands that the missionary too often adopts the standards of the West and not those of Jesus of Nazareth. Let those cast the first stone who (having been tested) are without sin.

Yet, when all is said and done, missionaries, as a class, go far beyond any other class in the white community. We have already quoted the judgment that to the black man of South Africa there are two classes, missionaries and other white men. It would be safe to say that all the child races of the world draw the same distinction. Take that splendid piece of writing, *An Outpost in Papua*. Such a passage as the following carries on the face of it an almost perfect sympathy with a strange people :—

“ Now and then some one goes away from our village. We have friends up and down the coast, whom we visit . . . and we trade our sago and tapa cloth and earthen pots and spears on the other side of Tufi and even beyond Mukawa ; and canoe parties come to see us, conjurers from Winiafi, or people from the little villages round about Sinapa. But they are only visits, and we are all glad to get back again to our homes, and hope to end our days in the place where we were born, where we have hunted and married and had children born to us ; where we know everybody and nearly all there is to know about them ; . . . and none

of us thinks of going away for good—why should he go ? where should he go ?—until the day of his final emigration, when he will go away from the village once and for all, and be seen no more. . . .”¹

The beauty of that section, a beauty matching that of the finest passages of missionary literature, lies in the use of the first person plural. The man who, without self-consciousness, can write “we” of Papuan savages and himself, has surely caught the spirit of Him who thought equality with God no prize to be grasped at but was found in fashion as a man. Few can express themselves with such directness, but you will rarely find a missionary who does not love his people and whose speech does not glow as he gets the chance to talk of his friendships with them.

Now this thing is not a by-product. It is of the very essence of the Christian life. As Sir Harry Johnston says, after dealing cavalierly with the theological differences and even the faith of the missionaries :—“Whatever dogmas they inculcated they taught and they practised the imperishable essence of Christianity, the gospel of Pity.”²

He goes on to recognize that it is made a charge against the missionaries that they are too sympathetic with the natives. It is well to remember that charge as evidence of some value.

With the great races of the East the situation is much more complicated. These races are waking from a long slumber; what wonder if they toss about ? They grow year by year into new life. Growing pains are natural. To say nothing of the direct or indirect tuition of Western Governments, the very fact that in many cases the missionary

¹ A. K. Chignell, p. 335.

² A. J. Macdonald, *Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East*, Introduction, p. viii.

has been the parent makes relations a little difficult. For parentage is a difficult task. The jest of an English schoolmaster, "The more I see of the average parent, the more I respect the average boy," carries its lesson for those whose parentage is moral. As your spiritual child matures, it is not easy to yield authority without conflict. That means obstinacy on the part of the parent and self-assertion (not always polite) on the part of the boy. And when the "boy" belongs to a nation of immemorial age with great traditions, any delay in transferring power produces more friction than in the case of simpler peoples.

Yet, all discounts made, missionaries are in general the friends of Indians, Chinese and Japanese. Criticism starts with the assumption that the missionary will be like Jesus and attacks him when he fails. It is at least fair to remember his all-too-partial success. Indian and European observers reckon—often quite unconsciously—on a degree of service and fellowship from the missionary that they would not expect from others. I got down one morning from a third class carriage to help a blind man up. As the train started again an Indian in the carriage said to me: "I suppose you are a *padre sahib*." Another time I was dining with an Indian friend in a railway dining-room when a young British officer came in. He immediately began to talk to me on the supposition that I was a missionary. I was dressed as a layman (and that time not in my oldest clothes!), and so I inferred that he placed me by guessing that anyone so intimate with an Indian was a missionary rather than an official or commercial Englishman. Broadly speaking, if that was the test, he was right. If you see a European on terms of continuous social equality with Indians

or Chinese, obviously entering into their life, eating the same food, travelling with them second or third class in the train, you will not often be mistaken if you label him "missionary."¹

Nor again is there any other circle in which Indians have attained so large a measure of authority. I know that a different view is sometimes taken and that even good friends of missions contrast the power given to Indians in the Government system with that given in the various missions. The contrast is fallacious. In the first place Government can choose the few scores to whom it gives power from the hundreds of thousands of educated Indians; the Christians of similar ability and training are few. Second: Government service is so highly paid that every worldly inducement is in its favour. If missions could levy taxes they too would have no difficulty in securing men of ability, but mission service for the European is on a basis of self-sacrifice, and, with the needs of the future Indian Church in view, it is hard to see how it can be otherwise with the Indian. Third: the offer of power to an Indian official here and there amounts to no real recognition of Indian authority. Before the present Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the system remained European, and such appointments secured the Europeanizing of a few leading Indians rather than the Indianizing of Government.

On the other hand, in the service of the Church no small power is given to Indian bodies. I will say nothing of the special posts in which Indians

¹ While this paragraph is true of missionaries regarded as a class, it is well to remember how many others have lived the life of brotherhood. A friend writes: "Stories like this are known of *Christian* laymen wherever they are found. Almost every district in the Punjab that I served in had a name of some one English district officer who to them was the type of justice, kindness, and goodness."

are supreme, for they are exceptional and they are too few.¹ But in the normal working of most missions there is a measure of genuine race equality and above all of democracy, which is found nowhere else. There are Church Councils in which Indians can and do express their mind and give their vote with perfect freedom. Indians are in the majority on such Councils. In the Wesleyan Church the ordained Indian ministers are full members of the annual synod which passes in review the character and service of the English missionaries. In Tinnevely the Church Council (with four or five European members out of about a hundred) manages all the affairs of the Church. From that great Church by a natural evolution came Bishop Azariah, the first Indian Bishop of the Anglican Church. In the South India United Church the Councils receive a lump grant from the Western Society and administer it as they deem best.

It is worth while to note that in the Church, far more than in any Government system, the ordinary peasant can express himself. To give power to a few chosen individuals is too characteristic of the Indian temper and stage of growth. But in the Christian Church the undistinguished member, if he will, may play his part in the religious development of his people.

A few years ago an Indian friend, a rare combination of the strong nationalist and the just observer, gave a rapid summary of the position : "The missionaries of two generations ago were our fathers ; those of the last generation were our masters ; the missionaries now coming out are

¹ In the Y.M.C.A. Indians receive higher positions, but the Y.M.C.A. is able to draw men whom the missions have trained, the problem of self-support does not seem to arise, and the whole system is as yet experimental.

our brothers." Such a sweeping generalization should not blind us to the splendid brotherhood of many of the generation past nor give the new arrival the idea that, because he is modern, he is necessarily sympathetic. But we may be thankful that it is broadly true.

What then do we need in order to solve the race problem? In the first place we need missionaries who will alter and, where necessary, de-Anglicize the mission system to allow a fuller control to the natives of each country. In some lands, the time has come when in most spheres that control should be made complete. It would be a gain if, at least among the great races, missionaries could secure a much closer acquaintance with the habits and genius of the people. This will scarcely be obtained without living in their homes for a period. Then there is the need for interest in every side of the local life. I cannot here do better than quote D. B. Macdonald :—

"Sympathy . . . the being able to enter into their ideas; knowledge, the having soaked himself in those ideas; intelligence and courtesy to adapt himself to them and to their ways—these are among the first essentials for the missionary. And these . . . he cannot possibly have unless he is genuinely in love with the people . . . likes them and theirs; is in many respects one of them. . . . *The paradox, in truth, of the missionary's life is that he must have a liking for his people and their queerest little ways, even while he is trying to change them.*"¹

We need missionaries who will go out to represent in all their life—whether they eat or drink or whatever they do—their interest in the ways of the people to whom they are sent and their desire that, in those words we quote so often but fulfil so rarely—the natives of the land may increase, but we may decrease.

¹ *Aspects of Islam*, pp. 358-9.

Again, like all the other problems, this puzzle of race cannot be solved entirely or mainly by missionaries. It calls for the help of every Christian abroad and of those at home who meet the strangers within our gates. But it is worth solving. The nations have a contribution to make to one another of which we have scarcely begun to dream. It is a wonderful thing to enter into natural Christian fellowship with men of another race, fellowship in laughter and discussion, fellowship in penitence, sacrament and prayer. Great days may open before us. The Church will be a triumphant army when, as in early days, it is the mark of the Christian that he knows no caste nor race, no Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, no bond nor free, but simply the men whom Christ loved and for whom He died.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- Maurice Evans. *Black and White in South-East Africa*. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
W. E. S. Holland. *The Goal of India*. U.C.M.E. 2s. 6d. net.
G. E. Phillips. *The Outcastes' Hope*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.
A. K. Chignell. *An Outpost in Papua*. Smith, Elder. 1s. net.
See also articles in *International Review of Missions* by Maurice Evans, April 1915, and Herbert Anderson, July 1917.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

" . . . Dull as the native may appear to the casual observer, he is quick to notice the attitude of those with whom he comes into contact; and the manner, the facial aspect, the tones of the voice, are at once read and unconsciously interpreted by him. . . . In it often lies the reason why one man is trusted by them, while another never obtains their confidence; the one they recognize has sympathy and liking for them. . . . Without these our relations will always be strained and unsatisfactory. The native does not look for maudlin sentimentality in his rulers ;

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he expects punishment when he offends, . . . he does expect what he conceives to be justice, is quick to recognize sympathy, and *does instinctively appreciate the great but sometimes subtle and indefinable difference between a strained tolerance and the warmer atmosphere of genuine liking and goodwill.*"—MAURICE S. EVANS, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, p. 14. (Italics are mine, F. L.)

"A lady in a town in the north-west [U.S.A.] . . . was greatly interested [in what she heard of Christianity in Japan], but finally said: 'I can hardly believe that there is even one honest or decent Christian among the Japanese here in our town. I can forgive their being poor and not understanding our ways, but I cannot forgive the fact that they all live in what used to be the licensed quarter of this city. If they had any self-respect they would not be living there.' . . . I asked if not one had ever tried to move away. She at first thought not, but suddenly looked startled, and said that once a very nice-looking Japanese man had come to her house asking if the house next hers was for rent. The house belonged to her and had a sign 'For rent' on it at the time. 'He seemed a nice man,' she said, 'but I knew to rent the house to him would depreciate the property, so I had to tell him that it was not for rent at that time. . . .'"—Miss M. L. MATTHEWS, "Is an Immigrant a Person?" *Japan Evangelist*, Feb. 1917.

"For the clearer understanding of the social problems peculiar to the country—a necessary preliminary to their international adjustment—much might be done if Christian teachers from abroad could have the benefit of some residence in a native home at any early stage of their residence in the country. I know of a case where through the straitened accommodation at — a new missionary was kindly entertained at the home of Pastor — and the whole future attitude towards Chinese life received benefit. . . ."—*Letter of a missionary.*

". . . I took a group of Frontier Moslems [of the Indian Army in France] to a stall in the market-place, and we discovered that the owner was a French Colonial from Algeria and had become a Moslem. Never shall I forget the amazement of those men as they looked for the first time upon a French Mohammedan and heard him use Arabic phrases or verses from the Koran. One Indian on my right repeated six or eight times, 'Praise be to God. Thanks be to Allah! What can I say!' Another gave the man a franc as a token of friendship, and they bade farewell according to the Moslem fashion. What impressed me was their instantaneous realization of spiritual kinship in Islam. Would that there were more evidence of unity in Christ among

even nominal Christians of different races now in France."—*Letter from a missionary with the Y.M.C.A.*, May 1918.

"In 1916 four of us, members of the Army Y.M.C.A. of India, proceeded to British East Africa to work among the Indian troops. The conditions there were very amusing and very annoying at the same time. The whole atmosphere seemed full of the Colonial feeling towards the coloured races. We had heard a lot about it, but never dreamed that it was so bad as we experienced.

"To begin with, when we landed at Mombasa . . . we were told that Indians were not allowed to stay in any hotel. Leaving Mombasa for Nairobi we were refused first-class tickets, and yet the whole Uganda railway has been made, run and staffed by Indians. At the Refreshment Rooms we were not allowed to sit at the same table with Englishmen.

"At Nairobi Indians had to go to a separate counter at banks, post offices, and even in shops. In cinemas we were not allowed to occupy seats on the same side as Europeans. In churches pews were specially kept separate for Indians. . . . I discovered that the Directors had passed a resolution that no Indian was to live in the Y.M.C.A. building. We were not allowed to have even a meal in there. We all lived and had our meals in a hut. . . .

"The average Indian there is the uneducated class and they don't care about all this, but still there are a good few educated men who feel pretty sore on the whole question. With a little more understanding things would be different."—*Notes of a Y.M.C.A. Indian Secretary*, February 1919.

CHAPTER VII

BUILDING THE COMMONWEALTH

"Now they desire a better fatherland, that is a heavenly, wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for He hath prepared for them a city."—HEB. xi. 16.

I

WHEN a century ago the missionaries of the London Missionary Society began to gain their first successes in Tahiti, they found themselves face to face with public questions. They had many converts, and no doubt would gladly have contented themselves with building them up into the faith one by one. But as the larger proportion of the population became Christian and many of the chiefs came over, it proved impossible thus to limit their vocation. By a perfectly natural development they were consulted as to the way in which a community should be organized and governed. They were compelled to frame a constitution. Copies are still preserved of those simple codes, which were the first beginnings of law and order in the South Seas.

In the case of Uganda, when in 1890 the British East Africa Company threatened to withdraw from the country on the ground of expense and the lack of financial support from the home Government, it was the friends of the Church Missionary Society who raised £15,000 to enable the Company to continue through a critical year. This was done to prevent a withdrawal which

would have reduced Uganda to a state of anarchy, permitted the revival of the slave traffic, and done a cruel wrong to those who had learned to trust the power and word of Britain.

The missionary cannot leave public affairs alone, for they concern the Kingdom of God. Of a Persian province Mrs Bishop wrote :—

“The people acknowledge readily that . . . the presence of the American missionaries in Urmi has been of the greatest advantage to them, for these gentlemen never fail to represent any gross case of oppression *which can be thoroughly substantiated to the Governor.*”¹

Sir Sydney Olivier draws upon a peculiarly interesting article by Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard, in regard to the success of Britain in dealing with the problems of the coloured people in Jamaica and the mixture of the races. Just because it is impossible to avoid criticizing British action in some respects, it is delightful to quote the praise of a disinterested friend :—

“ . . . And yet, despite all these disadvantages, to-day, whatever the problems of Jamaica, whatever its defects, our own present Southern race-problem in the forms which we know best, simply does not exist. There is no public controversy about social race equality or superiority. Neither a white man nor a white woman feels insecure in moving about freely amongst the black population anywhere on the island. . . . Life in Jamaica is not ideal. The economical aspect of the island is in many ways unsatisfactory. But the negro race-question, in our present American sense of that term, seems to be substantially solved . . . by the simplest means in the world—the simplest, that is, for Englishmen—viz. : by English administration, and by English reticence. When once the sad period of emancipation and of subsequent occasional disorder was passed, the Englishman did in Jamaica what he had so often and so well done elsewhere. He organized his colony ; he established good local courts, which gained by square treatment the confidence of the blacks. . . . The Jamaica negro is described . . . as especially fond of

¹ *Journeys in Persia*, Vol. ii. p. 239. The italics are mine.—F. L.

bringing his petty quarrels . . . into court. He is litigious just as he is vivacious. But this confidence in the law is just what the courts have encouraged. That is one way, in fact, to deal with the too forward . . . negro. Encourage him to air his grievances in court, listen to him patiently, and fine him when he deserves fines. That is a truly English type of social pedagogy. It works in the direction of making the negro a conscious helper towards good social order. . . .

"Yes, the work has been done by administration,—and by reticence. You well know that . . . trouble is seldom made by the fact that you are actually the superior of another man in any respect. The trouble comes when you tell the other man too stridently that you are his superior. Be my superior quietly, simply showing your superiority in your deeds, and very likely I shall love you for the very fact of your superiority. For we all love our leaders. But tell me that I am your inferior, and then perhaps I may grow boyish, and may throw stones." ¹

In order fully to understand the missionary bearing of this last quotation, we must add the judgment of Sir Sydney Olivier himself, who was Governor of Jamaica :—

" . . . The negro in Jamaica has been so far raised, so much freedom of civic mixture between the races has been made tolerable, by the continuous application to the race of the theory of humanity and equality: equality, that is, in the essential sense of endowment in the Infinite, a share, however obscure and undeveloped, in the inheritance of what we call the Soul. Evangelical Christianity, most democratic of doctrines, and educational effort, inspired and sustained by a personal conviction and recognition that, whatever the superficial distinctions, there was fundamental community and an equal claim in the black with the white to share, according to personal capacity and development, in all the inheritance of humanity—these chiefly have created the conditions that have done what has been done for the negro in the lands of his exile." ²

This passage is worth reading over more than once to grasp the rich meaning of its pregnant words. Now these things represent not merely the harvest of conversions in detail, but the

¹ *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, pp. 65-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57

impact of Christianity on the British ruler and the Jamaican subject. Individual character is not enough—if indeed character can exist apart from its relation to the community,—we must have a corporate spirit issuing in a society organized on Christian lines.

May I be allowed a homely illustration ?

At a Student Conference a few years ago it was the practice to give to each man a bun for supper. But in some way the plans for distribution were faulty, and on the first night or two some had to go short. As a result, on the later evenings there was an unseemly “bun-struggle” in the literal sense of the word! Here were men unselfish and friendly—the very last to be inclined to such competition—but urged to it by the simple absence of proper organization.

No goodness of the individual character is sufficient for the good life: society must be so guided as to give play to that goodness. The course of revolution in Russia and Germany has shown how quickly personal conduct may deteriorate if the framework of social life is shattered.

II

Reconstruction is a hackneyed word; and yet we cannot ignore the idea it represents. By showing the possibility of corporate effort for destructive objects, the war has demonstrated how nations could build up the fabric of the state in times of peace. The sacrifices of the soldiers have made it imperative to give them a real share in the prosperity of their motherland. But the war, after all, has only accelerated processes already under way. Even geographical conditions are

being altered by the opening of the Panama Canal and the commercial use of the aeroplane. Every enlightened nation is seeking a new order.

As far as the East is concerned, this influence may be seen at work unconsciously in China and consciously in Japan. The corrupt state of politics in China has been to some extent described in Chapter III. A people generally gets the Government it deserves. In this case lack of political sense and a narrow absorption in the struggle for existence or for immediate personal gain, are producing their inevitable results. As long as the village life followed its decent, regular routine, the citizens of China asked no more. Above all, they had little public spirit. In 1907 I travelled along a main road to Yensan in Chihli—such a road! But the badness of Chinese roads is not here my point. On either side, planted by Government to protect travellers from the burning heat, was a line of trees. Every tree was dead, deliberately killed by the farmers because it would slightly reduce the yield of the adjoining field. It is likely that Government was most to blame for attempting to benefit the many without compensating the few; but those gaunt, burnt-up saplings will always haunt me as signs of the futility of trying to help a people who will not help themselves. After such a sight it was not difficult to understand how the hills were stripped of forests, and the treeless land exposed to those alternations of drought and inundation which in any year might destroy the harvest over thousands of square miles.¹ Sluggish indifference marked the life of China, and she has seldom produced leaders able to show the way of progress. What is lacking

¹ Willard Price, *Ancient Peoples at New Tasks*, p. 66.

is personal character. The main cause for this lack lies in the popular religions.

But what of the revolution that was to make China new? After the war with Japan in 1894 and the capture of Peking in 1900, Chinese patriotism began to awake. Mission education had done much to foster it by opening the eyes of students to what other nations had accomplished, and its growth produced the revolution of 1912. Since the revolution that patriotism has increased. In quarters official and unofficial certain shoots of life are putting on the promise of harvest. But other shoots spring from a shallow depth of earth. Some leaders have proved doctrinaire, some corrupt. Probably Yuan-Shi-kai was the only possible President, but he was no idealist and his choice illustrated the necessity of compromise with the past. The Christians and the men of principle in the Government were attacked by the subtlest methods of Oriental intrigue and every attempt was made to implicate them in some shady transaction. The better men of the old order were confirmed in reaction. A section of the Progressives, ancient restraints and moorings severed, ventured out on the sea of anarchy.¹ Six years after the high hopes of the revolution the general feeling is one of despair; "the old gang must die off before there is much chance of reform." Alas! the old gang have an unfortunate propensity for training juniors of like mind—and corruption pays.

¹ One result . . . has been the formation of a Chinese League of Urgent Socialists, now boasting a membership of some tens of thousands, with a monthly magazine, on which are displayed the mottoes: *No family. No religion. No Government. Freedom. Equality. Unrestrained Love. Each putting forth his entire faculties. Each taking what he needs. Individual Self-rule. The world homogeneous.*—W. A. Cornaby, *International Review of Missions*, Oct. 1913.

The European revolutions of the autumn of 1918 are too near for us to judge of their result, but the three this generation has welcomed and had time to judge, in Turkey, China, and Russia, have all tragically broken down for want of the one thing needful, character. It is character for which the social regeneration of China is waiting. Where shall we seek it?

The official motto or title of the Era of the late Mikado of Japan was *Meiji*, Enlightenment. At the accession of the new Mikado the title chosen for the new Era was *Taisho*, Righteousness. That device represents the sense of need felt by Japanese statesmen. In this connection the *Times* wrote: ¹—

“Yet with all these efforts there has been constant recognition that something was slipping away from the foundation of the Japanese character. . . . To all appearances the battle in the coming era will be for moral righteousness rather than material enlightenment. It is a herculean task which awaits its statesmen, that of building a foundation for strong conviction and high ideals. . . .”

The quotation from a Japanese paper at the end of the chapter gives impressive support to this judgment, and it was this feeling of deep anxiety that led to the remarkable conference of the three religions, Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity, convoked by the Government some seven years ago.

Again we have the new vista opened up by the Montagu-Chelmsford report on the Government of India. It is never entirely satisfactory for one race to govern another, but the transition from the rule of the foreigner to a truly national control requires some delicate handling of the helm of state. The man whose whole heart longs to see India mistress in her own house may yet cherish

¹ 29th August 1912.

misgivings. Such a man would put his finger on the comparative rarity, as yet, of Indians trained in, or eager for, the service of their fellows. For a country of high ideals this is perhaps the most conspicuous lack in the moral sphere.

Further, the part which India is to play must depend entirely on the level of education, and especially of political education, reached by the Indian electorate. Yet the proportion of the population who can read and write is only six per cent. Can the franchise be anything but a sham for people falling below this very modest standard? This leaves us with one of two alternatives. Either we must be content to entrust Indian government to a small proportion of the Indian people, in defiance of all democratic ideals, or we must set to work at once and educate the illiterate masses. Every true progressive will choose the second course—education.

But how is it to be provided? Where are the Indian teachers who, in the spirit of a previous chapter, will train the electors for citizenship, teaching them to navigate self-government's uncharted sea? It is unlikely that Government schools, neutral as they are in matters of faith, can provide what India needs; it is doubtful, extremely doubtful, if Hinduism or Islam can reform themselves sufficiently to meet the demands of the twentieth century. Christianity remains, and Christianity has the life to give. Will the Church of the West help the Church of India to rise to the task?

III

The attempt of the British Government to move towards a new relation with an awakened India

raises the whole question of international duty. Any international settlement must embrace the East. To the watchers of world movements it has been surprising and a little disquieting to see how many writers on such questions, and notably on the League of Nations, have ignored the East and Africa. Not that they intended to leave any people out, but simply that their ideas were limited to the European powers, America, the British Empire, and sometimes Japan. Perhaps they shrank unconsciously from the complexity of the new class of problems which arise as one goes beyond the typical "Western" nation, but as for any guidance they gave us, great tracts of the world might well have been as empty and unknown as in the atlases of fifty years ago. It is not a good omen for the future.

Here are races with populations measured in hundreds of millions, several with an ancient history, each with its specific contribution to make to the world's progress or to the new fabric of corporate humanity. Can we afford to ignore them? We British govern India and talk about "the white man's burden." But it is a burden that sits very lightly on the shoulders of the ordinary British Christian, to say nothing of the average elector. We do not exploit India for our own benefit,—certainly that is something,—but the idea of our government as a sacred trust does not often cross the imagination of that home-staying but powerful person, the man in the street. This is the more serious because Britain is pre-eminent in native administration.

Nor is the problem limited to cases of direct government. The impact of America on China, for instance, is very nearly as important as the control of India by Britain. We are setting in motion—

weigh the fact as it deserves—a flood of mighty forces, and tribes or peoples are like the animals, small and great, which, taking refuge on floating logs, are swept precariously down stream to an end which is out of sight.

We must have an international organization to represent the conscience of the world. The territorial ambitions of the West are paltry objects compared to the redemption of Eastern races and the preparation of scattered peoples to play their part in the brotherhood of the nations.

Thus we are led up to the whole question of peace. Dare we be as careless in the East as we have been in Europe? Men of the East shouldered their burden in the war, but in numbers too small to give any conception of what the future may unfold. If in Asia there should begin a landslide towards militarism, it will be on an immense scale. Since 1914 we have made war with infinite pains. Must we not take equal pains for peace? Yet peace is a thing of the spirit. Whence will that spirit come? I see no source but God revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord.

In Europe we piled inflammables on every side, and then wondered that a spark should set our piles ablaze. Are we on the watch to remove from the East, and from our relation to it, the temper and the material of conflict? Anyone who for a month will read a newspaper with good correspondents in the East will find cause enough for disquiet.

Connected with this large range of international dealings, and often doing much to embitter them, are our traffickings in drink, opium, morphia, and the like. China brings the opium traffic to an end and immediately there springs up a trade in morphia. While some of the drug was manu-

factured in Germany and sold by Japanese agents, three British firms, two in Edinburgh and one in London, were also engaged in the supply. British morphia exports to the East rose from $5\frac{1}{2}$ tons in 1911 to 14 tons in 1914, a scarcely legitimate expansion of the trade. The export from Britain was stopped under the Defence of the Realm Act, but this was only a war measure on the ground of medical need, and it remains to be seen what will happen as the old conditions return. The morphia habit may become more terrible than the craving for opium.

The drink traffic all the world over is little to our credit. Every congress on native affairs agrees that natives should not be supplied with drink; every writer who shows any desire to uplift them reiterates the appeal, and yet the sale goes on. Perhaps England is less concerned than some other countries, but, as the world's shipping agents, we have had most of the vile stuff through our hands. An English bishop said of Southern Nigeria :—

“When travelling in some parts of the Delta it is not possible to purchase food unless you are prepared to pay for it in gin. Archdeacon Dennis . . . could not get a fowl because the people insisted on a bottle of gin in payment, and I have been frequently refused in the same way. At Agberi . . . we had to withdraw the man there because the people would not sell him food unless he produced gin in exchange.”¹

During the last few years there has been a real improvement in Nigeria. The introduction of coinage has done much to displace spirits from their position as currency; and when in 1917 the war prevented the import of German and Dutch alcohol, trade returns, so far from suffering, were

¹ Native Races Committee, *The Liquor Traffic in Southern Nigeria* (1909), p. 24. “According to a native bishop gin was used as currency over almost the whole of the Delta district.” p. 244.

unprecedented. The war seems to have offered the opportunity of a great moral and commercial reform. Let us hope that the administration will be supported as they attempt to take it.

On the Gold Coast, however, the number of gallons of drink consumed has actually increased during the war years.

Now such forms of ignoble commerce can only be dealt with by international action, for which a strong public opinion is necessary. But a negative public opinion is of small avail. You may drive out one devil, but another, or perhaps seven others, will occupy the swept and garnished dwelling. Opium has no sooner disappeared from China than we read (for the comfort of British shareholders) that "certain important U.S. beer-making concerns purpose invading China in consequence of . . . prohibition in the United States."¹ Devilry indeed, and a pointed illustration that to end one form of corruption is only to open the door for another, unless the hearts of men are changed. Even if we are successful in our negation, our victory may be very like a defeat. To take gin from the negro will profit him little unless we teach him to desire some nobler object and put that object within his reach.

Thus we are led back to the thought of public service dedicated to a great positive ideal. When the simpler nations learn to serve within their own borders and the races more advanced serve the weaker with unselfish loyalty, vice will disappear.

¹ *Daily Mail*, 27th January 1919. It is also stated that Americans have taken up the shipping of alcohol to West Africa when it fell from German and Dutch hands. (*Times*, April 8, 1918.)

IV

Let us think, then, of the source from which this positive ideal may flow to the nations like an irrigating stream. Can we look to their national faiths? These, even when their sway was unquestioned (and it is waning everywhere), did little to create any practical devotion to the common weal; and in certain spheres their influence was even hostile.

No pagan religion welcomes education or that zeal for enquiry and revolt against evil which is the contribution of all movements of protest. Such a religion feels instinctively that its authority is liable to challenge, and from its hoary ancestor, the witch-doctor, it resists the spirit of change. How then can it give support to the idea of social service—an idea dedicated to the conquest of a future better than the past? To show that in ruling simple peoples there is no enemy like superstition Loram quotes Dr Macvicar:—

“The superstitions of the natives constitute *the* dangerous feature of native life. Under the influence of superstition sane men lose their judgment, and any leader who is clever enough to appeal to some deeply-rooted superstition can move his hearers to acts which they would never otherwise commit. . . . Every Kafir war had its false prophet who professed to be able to bewitch the enemy and to impart strength to the Kafirs to overcome the Europeans. . . .”¹

The unenlightened native is open to any rumour, however absurd, and, bad as is the effect of the “Stunt” press in England, the danger it fosters is as nothing compared to the ignorant passions which may be aroused among the primitive peoples by wild tales depending for their currency

¹ *The Education of the South African Native*, p. 31.

on the low mental level of the "mutable many" or, as Bacon called them, "the great Beast."

The non-Christian faiths are often anti-social. Mrs Sinclair Stevenson remarks that Jainism, with its equal valuation of all forms of life and its neurotic anxiety to avoid killing even the animalculæ, has driven its worshippers away from manufacture or agriculture and made them money-lenders or middlemen. Buddhism, despairing of the common world of men, is ill-fitted to bring the Kingdom of God on earth, and its popular doctrine of merit as the inducement to good action is the negation of any real spirit of public service. As Saint Hilaire judges, "He [Buddha] is struck not so much by the abuses and the evils of the society in which he lives as by those which are inseparable from humanity itself." Hence Buddhism has "hardly done anything either to organize them [the nations] or to govern them equitably."¹

Islam is supranational. The Moslems in India or China, in so far as they are true Moslems, do not belong to the State but to world-wide Islam. At first sight this would seem to provide us with the bond we need; we have found a religion that thinks of all peoples. The actual result belies our expectations. D. B. Macdonald writes of China:—

"There Muslims form . . . a state within a state. They are recognized by the other Chinese as a great national danger. Again and again they have risen in revolt and have been crushed . . . they cannot assimilate themselves to and join heartily in the general development of China."²

The fact is that Islam is vitiated by thinking of itself as the supreme object of loyalty. A true

¹ *The Buddha and his Religion*, pp. 149-152.

² *Aspects of Islam*, p. 285.

religion may have to call men from their local allegiance, but only for the sake of the Kingdom of God. When the claim is for Rome or Mecca or Constantinople, we are merely substituting a more extended for a less extended selfishness. And if we are to create a genuine internationalism, it is nationalism on which it must be founded.

In many cases the peoples who nominally profess these faiths and others like them are treading with tottering steps in the direction of reform, but they get little help from their religions.

If the ethnic religions will not help us, are we to look to enlightened self-interest? I am convinced that it is to our interest to serve within our nation, and equally to the interest of our nation that it should serve the rest. Yet any such argument is unconvincing and essentially unsatisfactory. In losing your life, you save it, but not if you calculate on the saving beforehand. In a Y.M.C.A. hut in France I was pleading for the service of the nations that sit in darkness, and two or three men made the objection, "Why should we try to lift up these people to compete with us and take the bread out of our mouths?" I answered, of course, that it was just because they were ignorant that their pay was low, that to uplift was the surest guarantee for the maintenance of our Western standards of wages, and that with progress they would become good customers for our wares, but I do not think I was convincing, and I did not expect to convince until I rose above self-interest, however enlightened, and based my plea on love from man to man and from strong to weak nations.

How often the white man judges it to his interest to keep down the black! "The negro must not learn the heady knowledge which will spoil

him for labour—he must be taught a trade.” And when he has learnt the trade he is not allowed to practise it! E. G. Murphy writes of America :—

“He [the Southern Repressionist] tells the negro he must make shoes, but that he mustn’t make shoes which people can wear; that he may be a wheelwright, but that he must make neither good wheels nor saleable wagons; that he must be a farmer, but that he mustn’t farm well. According to this fatuous philosophy of our situation, we are to find the true ground of inter-racial harmony when we have proved to the negro that it is useless for him to be useful, and only after we have consistently sought the negro’s industrial contentment on the basis of his industrial despair.”¹

What was true of the United States is true also of South Africa, where the white man threatens to strike if there is any proposal to allow the natives to rise above unskilled labour. It is hard to prove to him that this view of his own interest is not enlightened.

By mere argument can we ever prove the duty of helping others, especially other nations? Is not faith indispensable, the faith that comes to those who know that because a man loves God, he must love his brother also? It is a point of honour: will men see it without Christ?

V

Now there is no sphere in which one may speak more confidently of the operation of Christian missions. The weight of the missionary body is thrown into the scale of social order and progress. The missionary’s need for openness of mind in his hearers, his ambitions for the Church, his desire to see his converts protected as they try to live

¹ *Southern Workman*, March 1903, quoted by C. T. Loram, p. 19.

the new life in Christ—a dozen motives ensure that the influence of missions is always on the side of reform.

A few quotations from governors and statesmen have already been set out. It would be possible to multiply these indefinitely. Admit that from certain quarters they are unconvincing, that in some cases they rouse a vague suspicion that the writer is advocating a religion for natives he does not intend to accept himself, yet the fact remains that they are the considered judgment of men who know what is for the general good. I shall cite no more than I have already printed—fuller collections may be obtained from the bookstall of any missionary society—but I will ask that due weight may be given to the testimony of the men who in important Government offices have regarded themselves less as “proconsuls of Empire” than as consuls for the poor. Such evidence, like Moses’ rod, should swallow up the gossip about “my second cousin who once went to China for a trip and was told by a sea captain that he had never met a Chinese Christian, and that money spent on missions had better be thrown into the sea.” We know those cousins and those sea-captains!

But we can carry our proof further. The converts themselves are the finest testimony to the social impact of missions and their power to build the Commonwealth.

The Christian officials were the salt of the Revolutionary Government in China, and, though in a tangled situation they did not succeed in finding the straight path, we have only to look at Petrograd, Vienna, or Berlin to-day, to see instances of failure not less disappointing. The wonder is they did so well. In the excitements of the last

few years most of us have forgotten the remarkable appeal made by the Chinese Government in April 1913 for the prayers of the Church in China. It was to the Christian Church, small and unimportant, that the leaders looked for moral support in their anxious task.

Incidentally we may notice how much the organization of the Church as a corporate body has done to train men and women in corporate service. As in England many labour leaders got their first training in Church life, so the Christian of other lands turns naturally to public duty.

In Samoa the native Church has for some years past maintained a Chinese pastor to work among the Chinese labourers. Think of the far-sighted public spirit to which that fact points! The story of the South Sea missionaries to the cannibal islands and Papua is one of the unwritten chronicles of the world's noblest heroism. Men and women in whose lands the Gospel was unknown ninety years ago have given themselves by the hundred to preach the Gospel to these savages afar off. On the south coast of British Papua alone more than three hundred South Sea missionaries have died. Nor has the gift been in vain; they have seen the ears of wheat springing from the corn that fell into the ground. What the growing civilization of the Pacific owes to such it is impossible to describe.

I think of friends in India. The first is a catechist living on the edge of an important non-Christian village. Normal Indian opinion would not count him among the great ones of the earth. He has his share of human weakness, but he loves much. A few months back the village went in deputation to the Collector of their district to ask that this man might be made their head-man.

“He is,” they said, “the only trustworthy and unselfish man we know.”

Then there is a beautiful old Bengali lady of Brahman origin. As a girl she ran away from home to marry her husband, one of Duff's persecuted converts. The family have been brought up in the same sort of atmosphere of prayer and public spirit that would mark the finest Christian families in Britain. Once at a Christian feast all the others edged away from two or three new converts, the lowest of the low. Anyone who knows India will understand how natural it was. But the old lady and her son, probably the highest in birth among those present, sat down by their side and ate with them. That same son, after conducting for many years a high school, became secretary to the municipality of a famous city. Hindus, Christians, and Moslems go to him for help and advice. The life of the whole province is truer because he is there. I would rather hear him preach than almost any English preacher. His younger brother occupies a position of equal esteem in the next important city up the line. The son of a sister, at the outbreak of war a student, is in the French hut where I write these words, and has charge of the Indian work in a great Indian base. He has justified the appointment. Any missionary in any part of the world could give instances as impressive of the service Christians are dedicating to the State.¹

Wherefore He is not ashamed to be called their God, for He hath prepared for them a city. The

¹ If, on the strength of the last paragraph, anyone visiting Africa and the East expects to find the Christians everything that they ought to be, he will be disappointed. Like the Christians of any of our home Churches, they have not yet conquered all the sins of their past.

reward of service is more service—and the glory of God.

VI

Once again it is good to draw our stimulus from the view of the task before us and the nobler temper in which it must be performed.

In the first place, we must fight the tendency to denationalize the Christians in manners, language, and dress. The danger from the missionary is less than it used to be, for nowadays he understands the compatibility of native customs with the Christian life in a way that was impossible to his forbears. Indeed, the danger from non-missionary quarters—government, for instance, and commerce—is so great that in these days the missionary may often play a restraining part. At the same time we all have our little antipathies, and it is important that we should not stamp these upon the Church of the country. As a rule they represent the foreigner's incapacity and not his strength. True power lies in appreciation.

Then there is much in the old faiths to which we may appeal. In South Africa some missionary leaders believe that we have been too ready to see evil in certain semi-religious observances of the tribes, and that, with wise assimilation, these might be made to yield their fealty to the Kingdom of God. In other cases we have neglected to reproduce or parallel the useful habits of the converts' pre-Christian days, thus giving the impression that Christianity was definitely opposed to them. It is unfortunate that the preaching of the Gospel to India began in an era when the Christian Church had not awakened to the advantages of teetotalism. Hindus of good caste and Moslems,

who as non-Christians would never have touched wine came to believe that there was something almost religious in the abandonment of their old scruples. The Church has lost by the relaxation.

There are aspects of Hinduism which may well find their place in the Church. The positive brotherhood of the caste fabric, like the Chinese veneration of ancestors, may be translated into the communion of saints. The Hindu's meditation often resembles that of the old rustic—"Sometimes I sits and thinks and sometimes I just sits"—but, when it is real, it has much to teach. We of the West need to learn that activity is not action. The Indian Church may yet recall us to listen like Mary at the Master's feet. But it is needless to multiply the instances; the best of the old is potentially Christian.

Indeed, it is not unlikely that, as in the dark ages, the Christian Church may prove to be trustee for all that is noblest in paganism. The old religions are breaking down in face of modern thought, and apart from Christianity there is nothing but materialism to take their place. Take for instance China. In the present crisis the young men, "flown with insolence" and the wine of new knowledge, are inclined to throw overboard the sacred classics, blaming them indiscriminately for the national decay. In doing so they lose much themselves and needlessly antagonize those who appreciate the beauty of the old. In most missionary schools attention is paid to the classics, and the Church may well use them as the Old Testament of the race. If it can thus rally to its side the true and reverent conservatives, it will save the glories of the nation's past.

Outside Peking is the Altar of Heaven, where the worship of Shang-Ti, the Lord of Heaven, stands out

in lonely isolation from the three competing religions of the land. It evidently represents a pure worship of the one God reaching back to ages gone. There, under the open sky and with no image to bemean the worship, the Emperor used once a year to perform a noble ritual of sacrifice. After the revolution Yuan-Shi-kai went as President, but with the passing of the Empire the glory had departed. The real succession of that great witness to the one God is to be found not in artificial revivals but in the Christian Scriptures where Shang-Ti is used as the word for "God." Thus the Church, as she scatters the Bible broadcast, becomes the heir of China's holiest past.

Such is the service which Christianity may render to the peoples as they struggle to establish their national life. It can train men and women in daily service. It can graft every new idea upon an intense patriotism. It can teach a love of country that will tolerate no stain of sin upon her honour. The fabric of the City of God must be on earth, but its pattern is in the heavens, and only those who ever and again look upward as they toil, will build its walls secure and beautiful.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- G. E. Phillips. *The Outcastes' Hope*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.
 C. F. Andrews. *The Renaissance in India*. U.C.M.E. 1s. 6d. net.
 Donald Fraser. *The Future of Africa*. U.C.M.E. 1s. net.
 W. N. Bitton. *The Regeneration of New China*. U.C.M.E. 1s. net.
 W. E. S. Holland. *The Goal of India*. U.C.M.E. 2s. 6d. net.
 Maurice Evans. *Black and White in South-East Africa*. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
 A. J. Macdonald. *Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East*. Longmans. 5s.

- Sir Sidney Olivier. *White Capital and Coloured Labour*. National Labour Press. 1s. 6d. net. Out of print.
- F. H. L. Paton. *The Kingdom in the Pacific*. U.C.M.E. 1s. 3d. net.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

"It was his profound regret that criminal offences were increasing of late among the Government officials, who should be examples to society. In the report submitted by the Board of Audits, it was found that those who break the financial laws were increasing."—COUNT OKUMA in *Kakusei*, June 1914.

"Society cannot get on without religious men and women. In our country Buddhists are so far ahead of all sects (in numbers) that, . . . compared with them, Shinto priests and Christian ministers are nowhere. Yet when we come to ask whether the Buddhist priests of Japan to-day are a necessity to the State, there are perhaps very few people who would venture to answer in the affirmative. . . . Though our Buddhist priests bear the name of religious teachers, in reality they are nothing of the sort. . . . No one who knows what Buddhism is to-day can do other than grieve over its forlorn state. Its revival seems next to impossible. And yet there never was a time when we needed religion more. . . . Religion is needed to furnish us with higher ideals than are to be found in the business and in political worlds. If Buddhism does not furnish these ideals, then Christianity may do so. I would rather see Christianity doing what it can towards supplying higher standards of life, than see the nation left without any religion at all."—*A leading Japanese religious paper*, 1911.

"Then I would fain Christianize Japanese society. Certain aspects of civilization in Europe and America are very degenerate, but in other aspects Christianity is keeping civilization pure and sound. Take away Christianity from Europe and America and no one can picture how deep they would sink. . . . Even in Japan if the Christian spirit and ideals were taken away, what a blow it would be to the spirit of sacrifice! What would become of the ideal of monogamy, of right relations between the sexes, of charity and philanthropy? Despite the insignificant number of Christians in Japan, they really act as the censors and pilots of society. A certain official of the Home Department has said that eight-tenths of the charity organizations of the country are conducted by Christians or on Christian principles."—COLONEL T. OSHIMA, translated by Galen M. Fisher, in the *Japan Evangelist*, October 1916.

"Underlying the evidence given by the natives before the Natal Native Commission was a feeling of a shaken confidence in the desire of Europeans in general, and the Government in particular, for their well-being. The old faith in the good intentions of the Government . . . was seldom expressed with any real conviction. The rock in a thirsty land no longer gave shade. . . . In place was a feeling of suspicion . . . that the white man was ever concocting deep-laid schemes for their exploitation. . . . Confidence in us, not only in our justice but in our fatherliness, is essential to true success with the Abantu. In a time when doubt as to our good intentions was rife, when confidence in our good-will was shaken, the unselfishness and altruism of the missionary stood fast, as a pledge to the native that the white man still desired his good, still stood as a father to him, and that cash, or its value in material things, was not the only bond between black and white."—MAURICE S. EVANS, *Black and White in South-East Africa*, pp. 105-6.

"So far as concerns denationalizing the native of a particular country—in this case China—we need frankly to recognize that some missions, or at any rate missionaries, are to be blamed. The shallow criticisms of a certain class of coast trader need not occupy us, but the indignation felt by responsible Chinese outside the Church is another matter. Mission colleges should keep their foreign connection as much out of sight as possible. Star-spangled banners and Union Jacks are an offence against good taste in this connection. Unfortunately all Western education—whether under Government or missions—seems at first to produce a large crop of bad manners, which need not be taken too seriously; it is the headiness of new thoughts ill digested. This will correct itself in time. But missions as a body might do more in conforming to the customs of the country and by dwelling on the right of the older generation to the deference even of . . . enlightened youth."—*A Missionary from China*.

"In July (1916) a monster meeting took place in the Central Gardens to inaugurate a Society for Social Service. . . . Mr Yung gave an impassioned address on social evils. . . . All who wished to enrol themselves as members, pledged themselves to avoid concubinage, gambling, and adultery, and also become active propagators of what the Society stood for. . . . There are over ten thousand members, and from time to time the leaders gather together for prayer. . . . The Chinese Christians realize that their faith must express itself in service for the benefit of men."—*A Missionary, Peking*, 1917.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEARCH FOR A PRINCIPLE

"I would fain be to the Eternal Goodness what his own hand is to a man."—(THEOLOGIA GERMANICA.)

I

WE have now reached the final consideration of the principle we need. Our aim is a great one and demands a dynamic of corresponding force. The time has come to recast society. We talk about it with Britain in our thought, but in Britain our effort will be ineffective unless we touch other lands as well. Further, as lovers of our kind we cannot be content to leave the other lands weltering in the results of a false social order. If, therefore, we plan for revival, our responsibility is as wide as the world. Now all revivals have sprung from a principle at work. Some revelation, some ideal has caught the minds of men and new life has been born. For such a task as that before us we need power. Where is our power house? *In quo signo vinces?*

Social workers in Britain know well the sterility of any large attempt at reconstruction which is not based upon a principle. They themselves are seeking for inspiration to unify and inflame. How much more need is there abroad, where the political sense is only embryonic and the dead weight of custom so immense!

Is there another principle than Christianity?

Civilization, as has been said already, is a word we use less confidently than we did five years ago. We have seen the days of the armistice, with the members of the Peace Conference each pressing their national advantage. Selfishness comes to the surface in an ugly way, and, after all the sacrifices made by young idealists to bring war to an end, it is pathetic to see great parties piling together the materials for a more terrific blaze. Nor is it fair to blame the diplomatists—they are egged on by the feeling of the nations. If that is all we have to look to, God help us !

Now true Christianity is an operative and living thing, even though the Church has diluted it with the cowardly, compromising spirit of the world. It deals with the individual and it has a message for corporate life. It touches body, soul, and spirit till the real Christian becomes an all-round man developed on large and generous lines. Even the Church, weak with the weakness of any human expression of divine reality, is from an external point of view better, far better, than any similar association or environment to be found outside. Say everything you can against it and at the end I would rather have children brought up in its atmosphere than in any other surroundings that I know. In the Church they will have the chance of becoming the unselfish, heroic souls God meant men to be. The Gospels never compromise and the Lord of the Church whom they reveal is always the same unchanging, unswerving, compelling embodiment of holiness and love. From the Gospel at any moment there may burst forth a new movement for reform, at any moment in communion with his Master some weak man may receive the call to be an apostle of innovation to a weary age. It has been so through the centuries

and in the long run it is the figures of Christian leaders and heroes that stand out as milestones to mark the real progress of the world.

But there is another consideration we must keep in mind. What hope is there for society unless we can lay hold on power to redeem what Kipling calls "the legion of the lost ones"? We cannot ignore the lost. They are a blot upon any fair scheme of life renewed, they are carriers of an infection more easily communicated and more destructive than that of physical disease. Above all, they are human souls in need, their fate is more crucial for society, more interesting in the eyes of God than that of the ninety and nine who fit into our seemly organization. It is in this power to recall men from the depths that our Master stands alone. Some of us have good cause for being certain (cause which might surprise those friends who know only the respectable surface of us) that Jesus Christ can redeem. We are in His service because He is putting sin beneath our feet. It is so in every country where He is known. But for the touch that has healed the leprosy of sin, this modern world of ours would be a lazaret-house from end to end.

Again, there is that inertia which paralyses our best resolutions. True, many motives seem able more or less to overcome it. Yet I doubt whether any is so simple and so effective in its working as the love of Christ—by which we mean the love of God. We have a Lover for whom to live, a Father for whose children we are bound to care. Duty is lost in free, glad devotion, self-sacrifice forgets its name and becomes joy. We have a Friend, a Comrade, a Captain, and for Him anything is worth while. When we do service unto the least of these His brethren, we do it unto Him.

We must find relief, too, from the pressure of despair. At times everything seems against us. Men speak glibly of ideals and then betray; leaders have not the courage,—dare not, in fact, trust their followers sufficiently,—to lead towards the right, and too often it seems that they judge their followers truly. On every side is disunion and cruelty and misdirection. Then we find our answer not in the love of Christ, but in the suffering His love necessitated, not in His risen power, but in the death through which He reached it. Christ reveals God suffering to absorb the sin of the world into His healing pain. When things look blackest, when human existence seems one weltering abscess of uncleanness, then the vision of the divine travail brings strength and confidence. God enters into it all, His overflowing, health-giving passion fills up the fetid hollows of corruption. His agony sucks away the poison from the world's gasping throat.

H. G. Wells in *Mr Britling* may miss some aspects of the truth about God, but of one central fact he is certain :—

“ ‘The real God of the Christians is Christ, not God Almighty, a poor mocked and wounded God nailed on a cross of matter. . . . Some day He will triumph . . . this God, this God who struggles, who was in Hugh and Teddy, clear and plain, and . . . He must become the ruler of the world.’ ”

“ ‘This God who struggles,’ she repeated, ‘I have never thought of Him like that.’ ”¹

“ ‘Some day He will triumph.’ ” If we have faith, we shall not taste of death till we see the first stages of that triumph, the Kingdom of God coming in a power the world has not yet known.

¹ *Mr Britling Sees It Through*, p. 408.

II

For this great process of healing and of growth God uses men and women, and among His chosen instruments missionaries have a noble place. It is not an easy thing to be a missionary. In Western lands, if one man fails us, we can turn to others and in them see Christ. We can make, as it were, a composite picture of Him from the partial sketches on separate sheets. But in many places the missionary stands alone and, if there is a defect in his conduct, that is definitely associated with his message. It is a great demand to make upon a man. Who will dare to believe that he could meet it? Yet I fancy that the average missionary, himself the first to admit his human weakness, comes far nearer to the imitation of his Master than his critics usually allow.¹

His motive is to give to others what he has himself found in God as revealed in Jesus Christ. He surrenders the prospects he may have cherished of advancement and worldly success. His salary will never provide more than a bare support. He faces a climate which finds out every weak place in his body and (with few exceptions) takes away just that last fifteen per cent of energy which makes work a joy. He leaves father and mother, brother and sister, and though I am convinced that the loss of their companionship is made up to him a hundredfold, neither he nor they can know it when he parts from them. Often by the very fact that he is performing a task of social reclamation, he will be thrown into contact only with

¹ I am using the masculine for conciseness, but women are no whit behind the men. Most men missionaries would say that, if there is a difference, it is in the favour of women.

those whose spiritual life humanly speaking depends on him. He must always move ahead; when they fall, he must lift them; when they drag behind, he must pull them on, and the chances of drawing spiritual stimulus from them are few and far between. It would be absurd to expect it to be otherwise. Yet he might stay within his own Christian environment to enjoy its interplay of help and inspiration. He goes to live in an atmosphere foggy with materialism and often almost literally poisoned with the sin of some great heathen centre. When his nerves are strained to the utmost, he has to express himself in a foreign language and to understand its subtle shades. He is criticized from every possible angle. As if these requirements were not sufficient, time, the tax-gatherer, presents a note of new demand; he and his wife must say farewell either to one another or to their children, and they do it with a public-spirited courage that can only be appreciated by those who know the pain—often the daily pain—of separation.

As I write the words and think what they mean, I do not wonder that the missionary is not perfect. I wonder that he keeps so near to his ideal. For the ordinary missionary is a dedicated spirit. He labours patiently for his appointed end; he lives for his people because he loves them. He may not always show his love; that is admitted. Let us be quite honest with ourselves. We, who genuinely love our countrymen, yet do not always find them easy to get on with. How much harder to maintain the spirit of 1 Corinthians xiii. amid another race! Perhaps the best test of the missionary's love is the way in which, when he is parted from them, he speaks about his friends in India or China or Africa, and the sympathy with which he pleads

their cause. The land is rich that gets such service.

These are the average missionaries.

What then shall we say of those who stand out? What of the men of whom the world is not worthy? In mission service there are many, many such. If we had the power to make a list, most of its members would be surprised to know their names were on it. When they find themselves in high places in heaven, their first thought will be one of distress that God's insight could go so far astray! They dwell in love and so they bring the presence of their Master with them wherever they go—they transcend the limits of race, they spend the last ounce of energy for the people of their adoption. They understand the customs of the country and they like them; they speak the language as friends would wish to speak; they have time and patience to listen to the complicated problems of a world they only partly know; they keep their minds open to every fragment of information which will enable them to understand the temper of the nation. Incessantly they seek new ways in which their friends may be brought to a fuller experience of Jesus Christ and the power that He gives. For the love of Christ, who became Son of Man, they have become sons of India or China or Africa, and their deepest patriotism is dedicated to their adopted race. Do not think these things are easy—they represent definite conquest in every sphere of life—that conquest is made at the foot of the Cross and only there; but at least they are not in vain; when Christ speaks in a man so unmistakably, it is not hard to recognize His voice.

The stories of some are popular because they happened to possess the dramatic touch, but, make

no mistake, the lives of the glorious majority have never been and never will be written. Yet they are as worthy as those who have become famous. I think of a doctor on a lonely village station, a very able doctor, but even more effective as a churchman and a leader in evangelization. Not long ago a convert was being baptized—a rare event in that difficult area—and he was answering questions to test his very simple faith. One answer he began safely enough, “I believe in God Almighty, and in the Lord Jesus,” but then his training gave way to his experience and turning to the doctor he burst out, “and, sahib, I believe in *you*.” The comment of the young missionary who wrote the story was, “not a bad Trinity either.” He was surely right. In such men we have the authentic revelation of the Holy Spirit. It is of such that the author of the Hebrews could write, “Wherefore He is not ashamed to be called their God.”

Have we pitched the note so high as to spoil the chances of our appeal? I think not. None of these men would admit that they were anything more than unprofitable servants. The sense of unfitness is no bar to a career where all good comes from God. The men of whom the world was not worthy were made strong *out of weakness*. What the Church needs for her campaign abroad is men and women who are willing humbly to prepare themselves and then to serve with a great love. Who will volunteer? From his own experience every missionary will bid you make any worldly sacrifice that you may carry on the torch. There are few professions with such a scope and such reward.

III

But a problem of this magnitude will never be adequately handled by missionary forces alone. Indeed, the future of Christianity in the world during the next fifty years depends on the recognition of this fact. It is not only that the task is too vast for any missionary organizations that are likely to be created, even by a revived Western Christianity. The very nature of that task—the planting of a Church which shall be firmly rooted in the daily life of each community—demands the support and moral influence of the non-missionary Briton in every foreign land. Imagination can picture a Church galvanized by immense sums of European and American money and depending on a priestly class salaried from abroad. Quite possibly its priests might be men of saintly life, bearing the authentic marks of the Lord Jesus. Yet the most superficial observer would write down such a system as a failure. What we look and pray for is a Church built into the common life of the people, following the tracings of their national thought and attracting every family and every group into which society falls. Whatever may happen in other spheres, when it comes to the social question, it is plain that men will accomplish nothing unless their faith is workaday, and, in the literal sense, homely. Now it is most unlikely that such a normal growth will take place in India or China unless the Church has the witness of the Europeans and Americans who share the local life. As long as Europeans go to the East and show themselves careless of religion, as long as Indian or Chinese visitors to the West find Western society seeking after every-

thing rather than the living God, so long will the Church be like a crew keeping a ship afloat by constant pumping, while the leaks are still unstopped.

Let us face the facts. The life of Europeans is watched and canvassed. The servants and the bazaar know when a *sahib* drinks too much or a woman carries on a flirtation. A young planter may conceal from his European friends the presence of a native mistress, but it is the talk of all the coolies on the estate. The waiters at the club can reckon the sums that pass at bridge. If a European tells him a lie, the Indian bows his head in polite acceptance—and draws his own conclusions. The people of the East have been trained in practical psychology for centuries, and there are few veils they cannot penetrate.

In the freedom of the new conditions in France I have sat with many Indian officers and eaten with some. I have found them dignified, manly, and full of a graceful courtesy. With the rarest exceptions they have behaved as gentlemen, because it was not in them to do otherwise. But one night an American Y.M.C.A. secretary in a hut for Indian soldiers invited eight British sergeants to supper. Three came more or less drunk, and one, after cursing the food set before him, went on to truculent and unclean criticisms of our Indian servants. The guests who were sober felt the situation more keenly than their hosts, but that unfortunately could not wipe out the shame I felt for my country. I was thankful that just then no Indians but the servants were present, and yet such lapses cannot be kept from their knowledge. In this case the offender after his previous term of service in the old army had chosen to settle in Bombay. What was the effect

of his contact with Indians there? How many drunken soldiers, and officers for that matter, have Indians seen in France?

Memory sails away to a little isolated South Sea Island where all the people have been Christian since they first heard the Gospel some fifty years ago. Their religion, if ignorant and primitive, is wonderfully genuine. They would not suffer by an understanding comparison with a village on one of the islands off the west coast of Scotland. Towards the end of our visit we met the solitary white man on the island. One side of his unshaven face was smeared with dirt, and he was dressed in dirty pyjamas. Though he received a regular remittance from home, he came to beg food from us; the remittance had gone in drink. I was told that the Resident of the Group had to discipline him for the state in which he kept his native house—the filthiest in the village! Yet he spoke with the unmistakable accent of educated English society and bore an honoured English name. The missionary visits the island three times a year at most—that poor old wastrel gives his testimony every day to the failure of the Church of Christ.

Such things, be it granted, are not typical, but they are far too common. What unhappily is typical is a general disloyalty to corporate religion. In a country like India, whose people take religion seriously, a chaplain of an English station can complain without exaggeration that, if he wants his congregation at the hour of Sunday worship, he must seek them at the club, the race-course, or the polo ground. If the previous pages have been at all convincing and we have come to believe that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the answer to the need of the world, the inference is plain;

it is unfortunate that our countrymen should be so indifferent.

Now this closely affects the majority of readers of this book, in that it illustrates the impotence of the Church at home. A well-known London minister used to say that the back pews of his church were in Canada and Australia. The back pews of all our churches are in foreign lands and too often the folk that sit in those pews are playing cards or reading novels !

We have not taught our young men and women a loyalty to Christ sufficiently strong to protect them against the temptations of a non-Christian environment. If they are shaken out of the conventions when they go abroad, they have no motive strong enough to keep them faithful to the Church. Anyone may feel the treacherous force of the backwash in any foreign settlement ; I doubt whether any Christian will keep his own vows, who has not been trained in the true athletic of the soul, the redemption of the souls of others. In a heathen country you must witness for Christ—or go under.

Just because the back pews are in distant Oriental cities, we cannot afford to have a lukewarm Church. The fire must burn brightly if it is to project its heat so far. We need, not a body of vaguely-interested patrons, but a striking force, whose every member is a soldier of the Empire of God.

The reaction on home religion is obvious. To remake Britain is more glorious because we do it for the sake of the world ; so interpreted the humblest Christian service takes on a certain heroic tinge ; the disciple who bears the cross in an Ayrshire village may be preparing a boy who as governor of a province shall compel men to hear and heed his confession of his Master, or the

girl who shall set the name of Christ on generations of Chinese teachers. To remake Britain for such an end is not only more glorious, it is also more possible. As we stand to-day, the task of saving Britain is beyond us, for we have conceived it in too small a spirit; but we can accomplish it, if we will make her "a light to the nations, a salvation unto the end of the earth."¹

We may encourage ourselves with the thought of the magnificent and reproductive service already rendered by men of living faith and dedicated spirit. The mind goes back to Havelock, the Lawrences, Gordon, and a hundred other well-known Christian names. There are merchants and professors, state officials and planters, engineers, mechanics and sailormen, school teachers and explorers, and a great host of wives and daughters. They represent the Church's glory and success. It is impossible to measure the fruits of such lives. My pundit in Benares was an orthodox Hindu, with no thought of being anything else. From the gossip of the bazaars he had picked up a vague story of some Lieutenant-Governor who every day had family prayers. I still remember the almost affectionate approval with which he related it to me. When the King had his train stopped that he might attend church in the middle of a Sunday journey to Nepal, he raised the honour of the British Raj in the eyes of every religious Indian. A young English professor in a Government College worshipping Sunday by Sunday in an Indian Church may never know the impression his Christian brotherhood is making on the receptive Indian mind. A civilian stands against a mantelpiece, cheerily facing a group of comrades who take the bureaucratic point of view. He has learnt democracy

¹ See Isa. xlix. 1-6, Revised Version, and especially v. 6.

in the school of Christ and he argues for the more rapid transfer of power to Indians. These things count, thank God, and leave their stamp upon the nations. Good is more vital than evil.

When men are going abroad to follow their calling, the Church with deliberate purpose must train them to be her envoy. The old Churches of the East were indifferent to the salvation of those around them and so decayed. Faced by the claims of a new world our Churches will succumb to the same law unless they make themselves missionary through and through. Islam has a more external religion and therefore an easier task, but Islam succeeds where we fail. However far from home, the Moslem spreads his carpet at the hour of prayer and wherever he goes he is a missionary. The Church of Christ has power beside which that of Islam is impotent. But she must cease trifling and "get on with the war."

IV

Indeed, the crisis requires more than this. It is not enough to give Christian counsel to those who are on their way. We must choose and send men and women to campaign for Christ in every sphere. Just as God calls missionaries to work under the societies, so He is calling men and women to go abroad in the trades and professions of common life. We shall only begin to solve our problem when men sit for the Indian Civil Service examination in the same spirit in which they would offer to a Missionary Board, and when the tea planter sets out to Assam because he too has been ordained of God. Before they go to take up teaching in an Eastern College financed by the

State, the Church must help men and women to pass their vigil, just as did the knights of old. The communion was given to boys going out to France for the first time. Why should we not make a point of giving it to the inspectress of schools or the woman starting away to marry a soldier in India? Why not to the trader sailing for the Niger? Their need is just as great, for they battle not with flesh and blood; spiritual death is worse than physical. We forget—there is the trouble—that they are going, equipped or unequipped, to the Holy War.

Let us be quite clear about it. Such service is difficult. The pull of superficial, conventional, decent society is desperately strong. It is hard to be singular—and for Christ's sake it is essential. Christ bids us go without the camp, bearing His reproach. The call to a disciple is to make a new world—and convention by its nature cannot help but sneer. The disciple must dwell in the eternal; what has the club or the mess to do with the things that are not seen? If a man is ashamed of his Lord, if at least he is not in process of conquering that shame, he will not stand through the steamer journey, and by the end of a fortnight on land he will find himself bound hand and foot by "good form." To be a Christian in a foreign settlement is no task for weaklings. Indeed, there are some who really love their Master to whom we might almost say, "You are not strong enough to serve Christ in commercial or industrial life abroad; you had better be in a mission, where the fellowship and the fact of your profession will tend to keep you faithful."

Yet that can only apply to some. If that were said to all, it would be a word of despair. God can give the power to conquer any spiritual foe,

and unless we are to reconcile ourselves to defeat just where victory matters most, we must bring the main life of men and women under the sway of Christ and not merely seek to capture their religious moments. In so far as we succeed, we have found an appeal worthy of the vigour and self-sacrifice of the striving, thrusting, adventurous men and women of to-day. Neville Talbot writes that when travelling in America Father Kelly of the Society of the Sacred Mission

“was fascinated by the driving energy of its life and business. But he felt that, in the middle of it all, religious people, while full of ecclesiastical and religious activities, were oblivious of one primary question—What does *God* want to do with America . . . with its absorbing stream of life ? ”¹

What does God want to do with the trade of India ? What does He want to do with the Indian Civil Service ? What does He want to do with the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce or the new organization of commercial flying which we see before us ? What does He want to do with every great profession ? None of the problems of humanity are beyond solution if men will face these questions with honest and true hearts. They will feel the point of honour and in their calling, where they stand, they will try to “be to the Eternal Goodness what his own hand is to a man.”

But such men and women need spiritual support and its provision is one of the first duties of those who are concerned with foreign missions. Upon it hang the world's future and the very existence of the Christian Church. We need an association opening its doors wide to all who go abroad for

¹ *Religion Behind the Front and After the War*, p. 83. The italics are as in the original. I should prefer to italicize “*America*.”—F. L.

the Kingdom of God and binding them in an allegiance more courageous and persistent than the Church has yet been able to create. In some cases the new Fellowships can provide the machinery the Church needs.¹ But the problem is far larger than their present power and to solve it we must study a method such as that of Francis of Assisi. Men and women missionaries of to-day may be to some extent compared to the first Order of Franciscan monks and the second Order of nuns, the Clares. But just as Francis felt compelled to set up a third Order of those who would live the ordinary life of the family in the ordinary Italian town, so the next step in the foreign service of the Church is the creation of a missionary fellowship of all who will serve their Lord and try to spread His Kingdom while they live the normal life of a foreign land. The difference is that in this case none will think the third Order inferior to the other two in self-sacrifice or in effectiveness. Its members will stand by one another and men will realize that there are seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. They will stand by the missionary and will help to reconstruct the local mission so that things merely professional shall be pushed into the background. They will bring the talents they have gained and they will enter into the joy of their Lord. Have we the vision and the brotherhood in Christ to set on foot such an Order?

All this varied service that awaits the Church and the Christian leads to one place — the Cross. Wherever men evade responsibility, pain,

¹ The Secretaries of the Anglican and Free Church Fellowships may be addressed, c/o Annandale, North End Road, Golders' Green London, N.W.3.

or service, others must bear them. The "dark places" of the world are not perhaps so dark in God's sight as the indolent places, where men dream or fool away the years in which mankind might be lifted to its destined glory. Certainly the indolent places are full of wickedness, and there decadence holds her sway unopposed. This book will come into the hands of some of the best educated in one of the favoured nations of the world, men and women for whom life is very good. And outside are the men and women in need; outside in our own land, yes, but more puzzled, more endangered, in the lands across the sea. Does not the very beauty and comfort we enjoy involve the point of honour?

We must begin our service quickly, for the opportunity must be taken by the forelock. As Emerson writes, "He who would be a great soul in the future must be a great soul now." Time does not wait, nor human cruelty nor sin.

There is work for all in that land of home where God has set men or in that distant land where He bids them settle. Foreign missions are not an organization or a recruiting office, but a spirit; there can be no limitation to specially devoted classes; all are called to play their part according to the talent they have received. Indeed, it is not "foreign missions" in any common sense for which we appeal, but for the full mission of a Church of which important members have hitherto been lamed or atrophied. We do not appeal for the Church as it is, but for the Church as it may be; we do not advocate our own theories or partisanship, we bid men follow Jesus Christ. Those who follow Him, even in the social jungle of the modern world, will never lose the way.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING.

- Various Writers. *The Missionary Motive*. Student Christian Movement. 1s. 6d. net.
 J. H. Oldham. *The World and the Gospel*. U.C.M.E. 2s. net.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS.

" . . . The Persian expects a concrete example of the Christian life. He is much more able to understand what he sees than what he simply reads, and . . . he wishes to understand how much of the practical teaching of Christianity is really intended for everyday use. . . . When a Persian sees the Christian colony entirely at variance with the missionary households as to religious customs and ideas, he naturally comes to the conclusion that as a Christian layman he will have to conform much more to the practice of the laity than to the practice of the clerical class, under which heading he will include all missionaries. For this reason it seems to me that it is lamentable for missionaries, clerical or otherwise, to separate themselves too much from the social life of the European colony. . . ."—
 NAPIER MALCOLM, *Five Years in a Persian Town*, pp. 207-8.

"Lying here in hospital, helpless three months, from shrapnel wounds which refuse to heal, and just waiting," writes a gallant soldier of Kitchener's Army a month before he died, "I have been thinking——"

"You know I have been all over the world. It would seem that I should have plenty to think about. Strange, isn't it, that my thoughts always go back to the one theme of foreign missions—especially as I never thought of them before, but in derision; yes, and that notwithstanding help cheerfully given me at mission hospitals in Amritsar, Jaffa, and Uganda when I was sick.

"I do not remember giving a single penny to foreign missions in my life. It was easy to prate about their uselessness—all so cheap and popular, too. Even as I travelled in distant lands, sometimes well knowing that, but for the work of missionaries, there had been no road for me, I still refused to own the blessings their work conferred both on the natives they set out to convert, and the country which gave the heroes birth. I think *that* stranger even than my ingratitude for help generously given me in mission hospitals. For gold was my god. . . ."

[*He goes on to describe his conversion.*] "I realize now that this Friend cares for every savage of our race, even as He cares for me. And why should He not?"

"Ah, there is the secret of my contempt for foreign missions. I had not then that life eternal. . . .

"It is sweet to die for England—I do not regret it . . . to die for the sake and in the service of the King of kings . . . will never be my part. I do not complain. I am not worthy the high honour involved. But perhaps I might have been, had somebody taken me in hand early enough. Why does our Church keep foreign missions so much in the hackground? How is it that I was left so long a scoffer?

"I do not blame any mortal. I am saying that something is wrong with a scheme of things which fails to put the whole world for Christ right in the forefront as the battle-cry of the Christian Church. . . ."—A letter to Mr ROBERT HOLMES author of *My Police Court Friends*, printed in the *Canadian Churchman*.

"We are reaping the results of neglect in some of our imperial problems. They have been caused by failure to remember the religion within. We have gone to distant parts of the world, taking with us results and not causes. We have sought to extend the sphere of our civilization, not by attempting to transplant its inner life-principles, but by peeling off the rind, and attempting to wrap that around native forms of society and activity. . . . We have been propagators of our administrative and social systems; we have not been missionaries of our religion. Western civilization is the outward shell of Christianity.

" . . . We need a Christian imperialism and a Christian commercialism. We also need an imperial Christianity and an economic religion. The young man going out to Africa needs to be taught that any breach of Christian principle, either in morals or trade, is as much a breach of patriotic duty as a refusal to obey an administrative regulation, or the passing of a forged cheque. He should be taught that he goes forth not merely to maintain the honour of the British name, but also the integrity of the Christian faith. . . . Indeed, the story of foreign missions is as much a part of the story of the Empire as any record of administrative action or commercial expansion. No man should be regarded as qualified to express an opinion on imperial questions who has not made himself acquainted with the efforts of the Church to transplant into distant lands the true life-principle of our civilization. . . ."—A. J. MACDONALD, *Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East*, pp. 54-8.

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